

FLAGELLUM:
OR, THE
LIFE } and { DEATH,
BIRTH } { BURIAL,
OF
O. Cromwel
The late
USURPER,
Faithfully Described.

With an Exact ACCOUNT of
His Policies & Successes.

Enlarged with many ADDITIONS.

—— Furto letatus inani
Disulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
Virg. *Æneid.*

L O N D O N :

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To the READER.

THERE have been so many *Vulgar Errors* concerning this Person, and such mistakes of his *Faculties* and *Natural Endowments*, some being prone to Indulge *Humanity*, others to Ballance his great successes with his evil Designs, and the rest to abominate all; that I thought it worthy the present time, while those sad things we have suffered are yet recent in memory, and no lie dare be given to the Sun by an ossification of Truth, to pursue his Life with this Memorial.

The World is not ignorant of Him, and yet those few that truly love Him; that is, Disturbances, and Troubles, have great Thoughts of Heart, as they phrase it, concerning Him; all the different Sects and Schisme, which he kept in perpetual separation and misunderstanding, now run into a coalition; and like Divided parcels of dying Vipers, Sprawl towards a Union with this their Head.

But they will here find that payson of Asps under his Lips, which as the Naturalists tell us, will envenome even those of the Species that come near it, when it is cast upon the ground. No man either of Reason or Sobriety, of that party, can deny, but he was suck'd in by that Pestilent Air of his pious pretences, and therefore they will, I hope, accept of this Antidote for the future in good part.

Magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia, great Virtues and no less Vices have been adapted to most of the great men in the world, whose Interest held the Scale for this was still the Impresse of just and rightful Monarchs,

To the Reader.

Monarchs, whom Posterity dare say no worse of, because no Better. But Tyrannies, and the enormous excesses thereof, leave no such exchange or Ballance of their Crimes, nor can their Policies, Craftiness, and Pretences commute with Prudence, Honesty, or Justice.

There hath been indeed an ingenious Essay to commend Richard the Third, and to extol him as an Excellent Prince, and in this not from any other Authority but his Heroick and Famous Actions in the foreign and Civil Wars of these times: And if this Hector be measured by the same Standard, in length only and not in breadth, by the Martial Feats of his Usurpation, he will make a better Subject for such a Pen two Hundred Years hence, then Fate for some one Hundred of Years, hath troubled the world with.

But when the world shall see that those Felicities of his Sword and Brain were derived from, and accountable solely to the just Judgment of God, who gave us up a deserved prey to the Spoiler; and that there was nothing Extraordinary in him but in the Sins and Vengeance of the Times, he being the Scourge of our Iniquity, they will convert their Admiration into a Reverence of that Supreme overruling Power.

It is a common, but most observable Sentence of my Lord Chancellours, that the Malicious Influence of some Planets had caused this Horrible Defection and Feud among us: Some Ages more than other are infested with Trouble-worlds, Ours especially, for there have more Revolts, Defections; and Secesses been made in Europe, than for many Centuries before; not to mention the like commotions, in the nearest and farthest parts of Asia, the Turkish and the Chinese Empires.

In Europe, I place and reckon this Cromwel as a
Medium

To the Reader.

Medium or Mean, betwixt two almost his Contemporaries, Wallenstein Duke of Friesland the Emperors General, who from an obscure and wasted Baron rose to that Dignity, and thence aspired to the Imperial Diadem, but perished in the attempt; and Thomas Anello the famous Fisherman of Naples, who died in the frantick possession of the power he had so wonderfully attained to: For by a mixt adjument of Tumults, and Arms, and the Command upon the Rabble, and a mutinous disloyal Militia, did Cromwel usurp the Sovereignty, though he had the fortune (or we rather the Happiness) to dye in his Bed, after the fruition of his envied Greatness.

Tyrants are like plagues, and are well termed Pestes Humani Generis, they do not reign or rage always in all Climes and Countries, but come like other wonders into the World; the variety whereof do for the present stupifie and afflict the World, and then leave matter of enquiry and discourse, to assist against the suddenness, and some other shaped violence (for seldom do they come in the same form) of another rupture and rebellion against Nature.

There was something different in this mans Tyranny from all former precedents, as there were stronger and stranger Corruptions of manners in the Times He lived, so that he seemed to be accommodated to them. Never were there such wild speculations, such dotages and capricio's in point of Religion, which made half the Nation mad, and run with zeal to the ruin of their Countrey; Now the destructiveness of these Chimera's and Whimfies of Piety, that Austere Sanctimony under which we laboured, could never better be discovered, than by the divine permission of this mans arrival and ascent to the Supreme power, thereby giving the World a Specimen of the

To the Reader.

deep mischief of pretended and morose Holyness.

This is the design of this Biography of Oliver Cromwel, who hath been excellently shadowed in the lineaments of Agathocles the Syracusan Tyrant; but here he is drawn in his proper and due proportions. There are it must be confessed, some passages herein coincident with the Histories of the Times, which are borrowed thence; but generally there is very little which is not Novel altogether, and with which very few persons have been acquainted: as it is presumed, will appear to the Readers Satisfaction, who is desired candidly to excuse the tenuity of the Syle, in so ample and so Masculine a Subject; considering it is an Epitome and Abridgement, and to pass by, or correct the Errata in the Printing.

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The Life and Death

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OLIVER CROMWELL

T H E

Late USURPER, &c.



FA T E, when it had decreed and ordain'd the unhappy Birth of this *Fa-
moſe*, by her moſt ſecret and hidden
malice brought him into the world
without any terrible remark of his
portentous Life, neither Comets, nor
Earthquakes, nor ſuch like Violences of Nature, uſher-
ing or accompanying Him, to the declaring and point-
ing out, that the Scourge of the *English* Empire and
Nation was now born; as ſhe did by indilcernible
Methods train him up to the poſſeſſion of the Throne,
and as ſecretly and cunningly, after all his bloody
and moſt nefarious actions, ſhift him out of it, and
with a blaſt of her ſpent Fury, turned him into his
wiſh'd for Grave.

Nor did ſhe midwife him into this light, which he
ſo horribly polluted, by any unuſual preternatural or
monſtrous way, not with Teeth or Heels forward, or
long Hair, nor with any marks upon his Fleſh, as is
ſtoied of *Julius Caſar*, our *Richard* the Third, and
others; nor were there any preſagious dreams or fear-
ful divinations of his Mother when ſhe was impreg-
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nate with him, as is mentioned of several, who have proved like him to be the destruction and common Enemies of Mankind.

None of all these Signs revealed or discovered the abstruse, and most reserved deep and mysterious Fortune of this person, The Subleties, Arts, and Policies of his destiny, potently and irresistibly conspiring with his as close Treasons and dissembled Treacheries, to the ruin and overthrow of this Church and State, singly and insensibly accomplished by the mean and unobserved Hand of this bold and perjurious politique.

All therefore that to this purpose is noted of him is this, that he was born the last year of that wonderful Century of 1500. to begin the next with his fatal Marvails, just before the union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* by King *James*; as if it were congenial to Crowns, as to other lesser accessions of Felicity in private persons, to have at the same instant a temperament and alloy to their lustre and greatness; that as fortunes right hand presented a Scepter, so her left hand was ready with a Scourge to wreak her Envy upon the glory and grandeur of that renowned succession to, and accrement of, Dominion,

Every thing hath its good and evil Angel to attend or haunt it, and that grand and happy revolution was to be afflicted and persecuted by this Fury to an almost dissolution of its well composed, united, and established Frame.

He was born and descended of a very ancient Knightly Family of his Name in the County of *Huntingdon*, where for many ages they have had a very large and plentiful patrimony; it will suffice therefore to reduce him from no further originals than Sir *Henry Cromwell*. His Grandfather, a Gentleman highly

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highly honoured and beloved both in Court and Country, who had issue Sir *Oliver* his eldest Son, *Henry*, *Robert*, *Richard*, and Sir *Philip* the youngest, (whose Son upon suspicion of poisoning his Master a Lawyer, was accused thereupon and convicted, and hanged some 37 years ago.) This our *Oliver Cromwell* was Son of Mr. *Rob. Cromwell* the third Son of Sir *Henry*, a Gentleman who went no less in esteem and reputation than any of his Ancestors, for his personal worth, till his unfortunate production of this his Son and Heir, whom he had by his wife *Elizabeth Steward* the Niece of Sir *Robert Steward*, a Gentleman of a competent Fortune in that Country, but of such a malign effect on the course of this his Nephews Life, as hereafter shall be declared : that if all the Lands he gave him, (as some were Fenny Ground) had been irrecoverably lost and deluged, by any accident or disaster whatsoever, it might have past for a most propitious providential prevention of that dire mischief and miseries that Estate occasioned.

He was born *April* the 25th, in *St. Johns* Parish in the Town of *Manningdon*, and was Christned in that Church the 29th. of the same Month *Anno Domini* 1599. where Sir *Oliver Cromwell* his Uncle gave him his name, being received into the bosome of the Church by her Rights and Ceremonies, both which he afterwards rent and tore, and ungraciously, impiously annulled and renounced.

From his Infancy to his Childhood, he was of a cross and peevish disposition, which, being humoured by the fondness of his Mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outrageous in his juvenile years, and adult and Masterless at Mansestate.

No sooner therefore had he obtained the use of his Tongue,

Tongue, but his Father, careful of his Education, sent him to School to learn the Elements of Language and principles of Religion; both which he studied with the same indifference, and *inside* and falicious endeavour, as afterwards appeared by his never speaking what he thought, nor believing what he heard, or was instructed in: So that his main policy was a radical and original Hypocrisie, which growing up with him, could not but be at last after so many years of Experience most exquisitely perfected.

From this A. B. C. Discipline and the slighted Governance of a Mistress, his Father removed him to the Tuition of Dr. *Beard* School-master of the Free-School of that Town: where his Book began to persecute him, and Learning to Commence his great and irreconcilable Enemy; for his Master honestly and severely observing that, and others his Faults (which like Weeds, sprung out of his rank and uncultivable nature) did by Correction hope to better his manners, and with a diligent Hand, and careful Eye, to hinder the thick growth of those Vices, which were so predominant and visible in him: yet though herein he trespassed upon that respect and lenity due and usual to Children of his Birth and quality; he prevailed nothing against his obstinate and perverse inclination. The Learning and Civility he had, coming upon him like fits of *Enthusiasme*, now a hard Student for a week or two, and then a Truant or *Otioso* for twice as many Months; of no settled constancy; the very Tenour and mode of his future Life till his grand attainment.

Amongst the rest of those ill qualities which *fructured* in him at this Age, He was very notorious for robbing of Orchards; a puerile crime, and an ordinary trespass, but grown so scandalous and injurious by the

he frequent spoils and damages of Trees, hedges and Inclosures, committed by this *Apple-
Dragon*, that many solemn Complaints were made both to his Father and Master, for redress thereof, which missed not their satisfaction and expiation out of his hide, on which so many pains were lost, that, that very offence ripened in him afterwards to the throwing down of all boundaries of Law or Conscience, and the stealing and tasting of the *forbidden fruit of Sovereignty*, by which (as the Serpent told him) *He should be like unto a God.*

From this, he passed unto another more manly theft, the robbing of Dove-houses, stealing the young Pidgeons, and eating and merchandizing of them; and that so publicly, that he became dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent Country: And this was an unhappy allusive *Omen* of his after Actions, when he Robbed the King his Sovereign of his Innocence and Virtues, and prostituted them to the People and Souldiery, and made the World about him afraid of his Villanies.

'Twas at this time of his Adolescence, that he dreamed, or a Familiar rather instructed him and put it into his Head, that He should be King of *England*; for it cannot be conceived, that now there should be any such neer resemblance of truth in Dreams and Divinations (besides the Confidence, with which he repeated it, and the difficulty to make him forget the Arrogant Conceit and opinionated pride he had of himself, doth seem to evince, it was some impulse of the Spirit) since they have ceased long ago. However the Vision came, most certain it is, that his Father was exceedingly troubled at it; and having angrily rebuked him for the Vanity, Idleness, and Impudence thereof; and seeing him yet persist in the same presumption, caused Dr. *Beard* to whip him for it; which was done

to no more purpose than the rest of his Chastisements, his Scholar growing insolent and incorrigible from those resists and swasions within him, to which all other dictates and instructions were useless, and a dead letter.

Now to confirm this royal humour the more in his ambitious and vain-glorious brain, it happened (as it was then generally the Custome in all great Free-schools) that a Play called *The five Senses*, was to be Acted by the Schollars of this School, and *Oliver Cromwel*, as a confident Youth, was named to Act the Part of *Tasso* the Sense of *Feeling*; in the personation of which as he came out of the Tiring room upon the Stage, his head encircled with a Chaplet of Lawrel, he stumbled at a Crown, purposely laid there, which stooping down he took up, and Crowned himself therewithal, adding beyond his Cue, some Majestical mighty words; and with this passage also the Event of his Life held good analogy and proportion, when he changed the Lawrel of his Victories (in the late unnatural War) to all the Power, Authority, and Splendor that can be imagined within the Compass of a Crown.

Nevertheless the Relation of a Father, and one so stern and strict an Examiner of him, (he being in his own nature of a difficult disposition, and great Spirit, and one that would have due distances observed towards him from all persons, which begat him Reverence from the Countrey-people) kept him in some awe and subjection, till his Translation to *Cambridge*; where he was placed in *Sydney* Colledge, more to satisfy his Fathers curiosity and desire, than out of any hopes of compleating him in his Studies, which never reached any good knowledge of the *Latine* Tongue.

During his short residence here, where he was more famous

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famous for his Exercises in the Fields than in the Schools, (in which he never had the honour of, because no worth and merit to, a degree) being one of the chief match-makers and players at Foot-ball, Cudgels, or any other boysterous sport or game ; His Father *Mr. Robert Cromwel* died, leaving him to the scope of his own inordinate and irregular will, swayed by the bent of very violent and strong passions.

There is little to be said more of his Father, that is requisite to his Sons story, further than this, that whereas 'tis reported *Oliver* kept a Brew-house, that is a mistake ; for the Brew-house was kept in his Fathers time, and managed by his Mother and his Fathers servants ; without any concernment of either of these therein, the Accompts being always given to the Mistress ; who after her Husbands death, did continue in the same Employment and Calling of a Brewer, and thought it no disparagement to sustain the Estate and port of a younger Brother, as *Mr. Robert Cromwel* was, by those lawful means ; however, not so reputable as other gains and Trades are accounted.

It was not long after his Death, ere *Oliver* weary of the muses, and that strict course of life (though he gave latitude enough to it in his wild sallies and flyings out) abandoned the University, and returned home, saluted with the Name of young *Mr. Cromwel* now in the room and place of his Father ; which now he became, his uncontrouled debaucheries did publickly declare ; for Drinking, Wenching, and the like outrages of licentious youth, none so infam'd as this young *Tarquin*, who would not be contraried in his Lusts, in the very strain and to the excess of that Regal Ravisher.

These pranks made his Mother advise with her self and his friends, what she should do with him, to remove

move the Scandal which had been cast upon the Family by his means; and therefore it was concluded to send him to one of the Inns of Court, under pretence of his studying the Laws: where among the mass of people in *London*, and frequency of Vices of all sorts, his might pass in the throng, without that particular neer reflection upon his Relations, and at worst the Infamy should stick only on himself.

Lincoln-Inn was the place pitch'd upon, and thither Mr. *Cromwel* in a suitable Garb to his fortunes was sent, where but for a little while he continued; for the nature of the place, and the Studies there, were so far regretful beyond all his tedious Apprentiship to the more facile Academick Sciences, (by reason Laws were the Bar and obstacle of his impetuous resolutions, and the quite contrary to his loose and libertine Spirit) that he had a kind of antipathy to his Company and Converse there; and so spent his time in an inward spight, which for that space superseded the enormous extravagancy of former viciousness. His vices having a certain kind of intermission, succession, or Transmigration, like a compleat revolution of wickedness into one another, so that few of his Feats were practis'd here: And it is some kind of good luck for that honourable Society, that he hath left so small and so innocent a memorial of his Membership therein.

His next traverse was back again into the Country to his Mother, and there he fell to his old trade, and frequented his old haunts, consumed his Money in tippling, and then run on score *per force*: in his drink he used to be so quarrellsome as (few unless as mad as himself) durst keep him company; his chief weapons in which he delighted, and at which he fought several times with *Tinkers*, *Pedlers*, and the like (who most

an end go armed therewith) was a Quarter-staff; in which he was so skilful, that seldom did any overmatch him. A boysterous discipline and Rudiment of his martial skill and valour, which with so much fierceness he manifested afterward in the ensuing War.

These and the like strange, wild, and dishonest actions, made him every where a shame or a terrour; insomuch that the Ale-wives of *Huntingdon* and other places, when they saw him a coming would use to cry out to one another, *Here comes young Cromwell, shut up your Dore*: for he made it no *Puntillio* to invite his Roysters to a Barrel of Drink, and give it them at the charge of his Host, and in satisfaction thereof either beat him, or break his Windows, if he offered any shew, or gave any look or sign of refusal or discontent.

His Lustful wantonnesses were no less predominant than the other unruly appetites of his mind; that there might no vice be wanting to make his Life a *systeme* of Iniquity: the publique, open and more ingenious *vilonesses* of his Youth, becoming the several dangerous and cruel *Villanies* of his Old Age, it being now his rude custom, to seize upon all women he met in his way on the road, and perforce ravish a kiss, or some lewder satisfaction from them: and if any resistance were made by their Company, then to vindicate and allay this violence and heat of his blood, with the letting out of theirs, whose defence of their Friends Honour, and Chastity, innocently engaged them. And the same riots was he guilty of against any who would not give him the way; so that he was a *Rebel* in Manners, long before he was a *Rebel* in Policy.

I am loath to be too large in such particulars, which

may render me suspect of belying him, out of prejudice or revenge; but I have heard it confirmed so often from knowing persons, and the stories made use of by his Party, who did thereby magnifie his Conversion, making him thus dear and precious unto God, that I was obliged to mention them, partly as due to this Memoir of him, which pretends to an exact Biography; as well in the minute and small beginnings, as in the grand and most important Events of his Life; and partly to set him as a remarque against all Satanical delusions of Instantaneous Sanctity; with which yet at this very day the World is bewitched, though they have seen in him the Tragical, and even Diabolical effects of his Religious Austerity.

Only one thing I may not omit: by these lewd actions he had so alienated the affections of his Uncle and Godfather Sir *Oliver Cromwel*, that he could not endure the sight of him, having in his own presence in the great Hall of his House, where he magnificently treated King *James*, at his assumption to the Crown of *England*, in a *Christmas* time, (which was always highly observed by him by Feasting, and keeping open house) played this unhandlome and unseemly trick or frolick; with the Relation of which the Reader will be pleased to indulge me, because I have seen it r'accounted by a *Worthy* and *Learned* hand.

It was Sir *Oliver's* Custome in that Festival, to entertain in his House a Master of Mis-rule or the Revels, to make mirth for the Guests, and to direct the Dances and the Musick, and generally all manner of Sports and Gambols; this fellow, Mr. *Cromwel* having besmeared his own Cloths and hands with Sur-reverence, accosts in the midst of a frisking Dance, and so grimed him and others upon every turn, that such a stink was raised, that the Spectators could hardly

hardly endure the Room; whereupon the said Master of Mis-rule perceiving the matter, caused him to be laid hold on, and by his command to be thrown into a Pond adjoining to the House, and there to be sou'd over head and ears, and rinsed of that filth and pollution sticking to him; which was accordingly executed, Sir *Oliver* suffering his Nephew to undergo the punishment of his unmannerly folly.

By this time, and by these ways *Oliver* had run himself out of that little patrimony he had, and brought his Mother to the same near Ruin; when taking a sad prospect, from the brink of this destruction, of his present desperate condition, a giddy inspiration seized him, and all of a sudden so seemed to change and invert him, that he now became the wonder, who just before was the hissing and scorn of all people: And that this Conversion might seem true and real, he manifested it with the Publican first in the Temple, (the Church) which he devoutly and constantly frequented, affecting the Companies and Discourses of Orthodox Divines, no way given to that Schisme of *Non-Conformity*; into which *Oliver* soon after fell, not out of *Seduction* and Ignorance, but *Sedition*, and Malice, and treasonable design.

But this appearance of such a Reformation in him (as he no doubt forecast it) did effectually conduce to his present purpose; for these Reverend Divines, glad of the return of this Prodigal, made it their business to have him received and welcomed with the fattest Calf, to remove the prejudices that lye upon the objected narrowness of Christianity; and therefore severally & joyntly they deal with Sir *Robert Steward* his Uncle (for Sir *Oliver* would by no means hear of him as being assured and confirmed against him out of some good hints certainly of his own observation) to

take him into his favour: & did at last prevail so upon him, that he declared him his Heir, and dying soon after, left him an Estate of four or five hundred pounds a year; which being got and obtained by so impious a practise, a kind of inverted *Symony*, to purchase Lands by Counterfeit Gifts and Graces, could not escape the canker of Sacriledg; but in few years mouldred away piece-meal, nothing at all remaining thereof but a Thatcht House, with some Lands of Forty or fifty pounds a year, in a Town called *Wells*, within four miles of *Wisbitch* in the Isle of *Ely*.

In the *Interval* of this Estate, having served himself those Venerable Divines, he fell in with some of the preciser sort; began to shew himself at Lectures, to entertain such Preachers at his house, to Countenance that way, and be very Zealous in all meetings of such People, which then began to be frequent and numerous; and to exercise with them by Praying and the like; to estrange himself from those his benefactors; and at last to appear a publique Dissentor from the Discipline of the Church of *England*. He had matched, a little before, upon the account of this estate in Reversion, with a Kinswoman of Mr. *Hambdens*, and Mr. *Goodwins* of *Buckinghamshire*, by Name *Elizabeth*, Daughter of one Sir *James Bowcher*, whom he trained up and made the waiting Woman of his Providences, and Lady-rampant of his successful greatness, which she personated afterwards as Imperiously as himself; so did the *Incubus* of his Bed make her partaker too in the pleasures of the *Throne*. These Men eminent for Puritanism, together with their Preachers set him up as the prime man of his county, for Religion, Integrity, and true Godliness.

But his Estate still decaying, he betook himself at last

last to a Farm, being parcel of the Royalty of *St. Ives*, where he intended to Husband it, and try what could be done by endeavour, since nothing (as yet) succeeded by design: and accordingly, took servants, and bought him all Utensils and Materials, as Ploughs, Carts, &c. and the better to prosper his own and his Mens Labour, every morning before they stirred out, the Family was called together to prayers, at which Exercise, very often, they continued so long, that it was nine of the Clock in the morning before they began their work; which awkward beginning of their Labour sorted with a very sorry Issue; for the effect of those prayers was, that the Hinds and Plowmen seeing this zeal of their Master, which dispensed with the profitable and most commodious part of the Day for their labour, thought they might borrow the other part for their pleasure; and therefore commonly they went to plough with a pack of Cards in their Pockets, and having turned up two or three Furrows, set themselves down to game till dinner time; when they returned to the second part of their Devotion, and measured out a good part of the afternoon with Dinner, and a repetition of some Market Lecture that had been preached the day before. And that little work that was done, was done so negligently and by halves, that scarce half a Crop ever reared it self upon his Grounds; so that he was (after five years time) glad to abandon it, and get a friend of his to be the Tenant for the remainder of his time.

During his continuance here, he was grown (that is pretended to be) so just, and of so scrupulous a Conscience, that having some years before won 30. pounds of one Mr. *Calton* at play meeting him accidentally, he desired him to come home with him and to receive his money, telling him that he had got it by indirect

and unlawful means, and that it would be a sin in him to detain it any longer; and did really pay the Gentleman the said thirty pounds back again.

Now was he therefore thinking of transporting himself and his Family into *New-England*, a receptacle of the *Puritans*, who flocked thither again, for Liberty of Conscience: But he indeed, for that his purse and credit were so exhausted that he could no longer stay here. Which resolution he had taken up before the Estate of his Uncle fell to him, and was put aside it, by the amplitude of that Fortune to maintain him here: and that at last (though wasted and gone) rendered him a Candidate for the ensuing Parliament, and supplied him before with the Ability of disbursing 500 *l*. upon account of *Irish* Adventures towards the settling a Plantation in *Ulster*, in that Kingdom. Yet was this the very last remains of that accessional Inheritance, he being forced to borrow in Town here very precariously and by the mediation of friends (though no greater sum than (10 pounds) nay formerly ten shillings were acceptable) at several times, which he received with this inducing Expression; That though sometime he had made no conscience of repaying any money, yet he would punctually now keep his word; which indeed he did justly observe; and this an Eminent Citizen his Friend and School-fellow hath often declared. The last sum he borrowed being very anxiously besought and intreated, as rising to a 100 *l*. which upon his growing Greatness pleased him, and was most abusefully employed in hyring Wagons for the Earl of *Essex's* Army, then advancing against the King. To this constant and insuperable indigency and ebb of Fortune was he kept and decreed to the brink of our Troubles, that his ruines and private misery might the more industriously force him to the reparation

paration of them; by the publick calamities, and then carry him to the mixt affluence and excesses of wealth and State-Usurpation.

In this new Conversation and change, he was grown so cunning, as to comply with those silent modes of Kindnesses and private conveyances of Friendships, which imported him a great deal more than he exported, for he was very much in the esteem of the best of the Faction.

Nor did he omit any other duty or civility, or Office of love to any, especially to those of the Household, as they then termed the people of the Separation; inso-much that he had scrued himself into the affections of many well-meaning people, whose assistance he obtained against his use for it in his election to the long Parliament; of which presently.

He was a great stickler likewise against Ship-money, in which danger his great friend and Patron Mr. *Hambden* was so far embarked: nor was he better affected to the *Scotch* War, then growing on, as he to his hazard discovered himself to some chief Commanders of the *English* Army, who in their march against the *Scots* quartered at his house; which Discourses drawing suspicion upon him, made him the more popular in those parts which were generally infected with Puritanisme.

About the same time on Mr. *Bernards* coming to be Recorder of the Town of *Huntingdon*, some difference about precedency of place happened between them, (*Oliver's* Spirit being too high to yield to any person in that Town, where his Family had continued of the best rank some years together) and therefore to avoid the Cession of his Honour to another, he withdrew himself into the Isle of *Ely*, where he more frequently and publickly, owned himself a Teacher, and

did preach in other mens as well as in his own house, according as the brotherhood agreed and appointed.

While he continued here in this fashion, there were discourses of new *Writs* issuing out for the Parliament in 1640. and about the same time or a little before, it was the hap of one *Richard Tyns* since Alderman of *Cambridge*, and a man generally known throughout all the 'ate times, having sate in all the *Junct's* thereof to be at a Conventicle, (as he usually every *Sunday* rode to the Isle of *Ely* to that purpose, having a brother who entertained them in his course) where he heard this *Oliver*, with such admiration, that he thought there was not such a precious man in the Nation; and took such a liking to him, that from that time he did nothing but ruminate and meditate on the man and his Gifts.

And by this slender wife was such an Engine moved, that afterwards tore up the Church and State; that the Reader will perceive his solicitous busie Fate cast alwaies about to compass her design of his advancement: and all by such uncouth and strang passes, such unexpected & ungovern'd contingency of things, that sh^e hath left him as the only Example, whom by the meanest Offices and Artifices and Pragmatick insinuation she ever raised to any such sublimity.

For t^{is} *Richard Tyns* before the writs were issued out (in which time he had opportunity of hearing one: and again) began to hammer in his head a project of getting him chosen a Burgess for *Cambridge*, himself being then but one of the 24. and with this device he presently repaired to one Mr. *Wildbore* a D. ape, a Kinsman of *Cromwells* and a Non-conformist likewise; and after some commendatory language of *Oliver*, propounded to him the choosing of him Burgess; to which *Wildbore* answered that it was impossible, because he was no Freeman of the Town,

This

This almost dashed the Project notwithstanding as he was returning home, his mind gave him to ask the advice of his Neighbour *Ibbot* a Tallow-chandler, whom he found working in his *Frock*, and who gave him the same answer: and thereupon *Tym*s concluded to surcease the design, and departed. But before he was far from the house, *Ibbot*, hankering after the business, had thought of an expedient, and caused him to be called back, when he told him, that the Major had power to make a Freeman, and saith he you know Mr. *Kitchinman* the Attorney (who was a Puritan like wife) he and the Major have married two Sisters; It is possible he may perswade his Brother to confer his Freedom upon Mr. *Cromwell*, and to that purpose you, and I, and Mr. *Wildbore* will go to Mr. *Kitchinmans* presently, and speak to him about the business, but the Major must not know the reason and design of it; for he is a perfect Royallist.

Accordingly they three went to *Kitchinmans*, laid open the worth of *Cromwel*, and easily engaged him in the Plot; the same night he went to the Majors, by name Alderman *French*, and finding him at supper, without more ado acquainted him with his business, told him that one Mr. *Cromwel* had a mind to come and dwell in the Town, but first he would be made a Freeman, that he was a deserving Gentleman, and that he would be an honour and support to the Town, which was full of poor; and many more good Mow-rows; to which the Major answered that he was sorry he could not comply with his desires, for he had engaged his Freedom already to the Kings Fisherman, and could not recede from his word; whereto *Kitchinman* presently replied, Brother, do you give your Freedom to Mr. *Cromwel*, I'll warrant and take upon me that the Town shall give a Freedom to the said Fisherman.

Fisherman, and with some other words perswaded the unwary Major to consent.

All this while *Cromwel* was utterly ignorant what had been transacted at *Cambridge*, but now *Tym*s sent him word, that in order to make him a Burgess, he with his party had procured a Freedom from the Majors that therefore he should not fail to be there the next Court day. This message *Cromwel* received with a like gladness and wonder, and not to be wanting to the Industry and zeal of the Faction, came privately to *Cambridge* the day before, and took up his lodging at one *Almond's* a Grocer.

Next day the Court being sate, the Major rose up, as the manner is, and declaring that he had conferred his Freedom upon a right worthy Gentleman, Mr. *Cromwel*, using the same Character of him which he had received from *Kitchinman*; and here upon a Mace was sent to bring *Cromwel* into the Court, who came thither in a Scarlet Coat layed with a broad Gold Lace, and was there seated, then sworn and saluted by the Major, Aldermen, and the rest with, *Welcome Brother*. In the mean while *Cromwel* had caused a good quantity of Wine to be brought into the Town-house, (with some Confectionary-Guffe) which was liberally filled out, and as liberally taken off, to the warming of most of their Noddles; when *Tym*s and the other three spread themselves among the Company, and whispered into their Ears, *Would not this man make a brave Burgess for the ensuing Parliament?* which being stild in, with the merry juyce gratis and plentifully given them, could not but have a kind operation in the next occasion; and a fortnight after another Common Hall was called for the said Election of Burgesses, where was first named Mr. *Lowry*, who carried it by the general suffrage, after him one M.

Mais

Mutis a Councillor, and he had the Votes of a great many, all of them Royalists; lastly our *Oliver* was named, and the Faction bawled as if they were mad, and by plurality of voyces carried it clear from Mr. *Mutis*.

When the Major now perceived the Jig, and how *Kitchinman* had fooled him, he could have pulled the Hair off his Head: but the thing was remediless, he was legally chosen: for the Faction had brought men thither, that had left off their Gowns for 30 years together. In the mean while the Zealots Triumphed that they had got such a Champion, and indulged their bellies at his Cost, most of which he borrowed, while by this means the Kingdom had one Viper more fostered, to the exenterating of her bowels,

Before I leave this Subject, I must inform the Reader, that the Commissioners of the late Act for Corporations coming to *Cambridge*, and, having displaced Alderman *Tyms* and others for not abjuring the Covenant, did likewise put the same abjuration to Alderman *French* then Major in 1663. again, who had wheeled from his Loyalty during the War who very frankly renounced it, and by it supposed and hoped to continue in his Majorality; but the Commissioners, coming to understand this story of *Oliver*, three days after sent for his Mace, and within three dayes after he dyed with the conceit of the Business,

Having now attained his desire and aims, which was to help to blow up those Coals of dissention and rage, which had kindled in the breast of his male-content party so long, and now were like to have free vent to the setting the Kingdoms into a conflagration; like a right incendiary, where he found any grievance complained of, he would make himself a party concerned in it, enquire into the number and strength

Strength of the Faction that managed the complaint, proffer his and his friends assistance, encourage them to clamour against the male-administration, and generally set a foot those mischievous petitions, which were brought thick and threefold to the Parliament; till his Faction had so exasperated the King against them, that there seemed no possibility of reconciling them, making even all the Kings most earnest endeavors for an accommodation, Arguments of refusing it. And though at first he was none of the principal of the Cabal, being taken in and tutor'd by Mr. *Pym* and *Hambden*, (as finding him of a bold and undertaking Spirit of what mischief soever was propounded to him) yet was he notably and highly instrumental and subservient to the Conspiracy; and at last arose to such a knowledg and capacity of the mystery, that he scorn'd their puny rudiments, when with a deeper *Atheism* he set up for himself.

The determinate time was now come, for which the Cabal of the *Puritan* had so long laboured; and that none of those things which had been so directly Prophefied of their Schisme (if it ever should attain any power or prevalency) might want, or rather not exceed belief; The whole Kingdom of a suddain, as if some magical Charm had transform'd the State and shape of it, seemed rather a Scene or bosage of wilde and brutal Creatures, than a Governed or civil Community. But because this particular hath been so largely treated of, and is yet fresh in memory, and will hardly ever be forgotten; it will not be much material to urge it further unless to the maintenance of this Maxime; That the Uproars and Rebellions of Subjects, upon what pretence soever, do always end in theg easiest Tyrannies, and turn to their most unse-

ferable

ferable and ignominious miseries; and that their Darling *Demagogues*, whom with Applauses and Arms they have shouldred up, and have reared and exalted above the reach of the Law, make it no nicely afterwards to trample upon the Necks of their raisers; and to swim in their Blood, whose itching swell'd their ambition to the Throne.

Nor did the *Volge* know when, or could their *Boutefeu* tell where to cease, what Issue would happen of these their troubles; Rash and blind Furies, that made way to the unobserved advancement of this private Male-content; who, like *Marinus* from his lurking holes in the Fens of *Minturna* after the defeat of his fortunes, crept into the Supreme Power, and died his purple with a more indelible tincture of Noble and *Plebeian* blood.

The Jealousies and Fears and the like picquet and quarrelling pretences of the Parliament proving hopeless of reconciliation or accommodation by the artificers of a Faction, wherein Mr. *Pym*, *Hambden*, and other *Puisses* with *Cromwel*, mainly busied themselves: And the just Judgment of God giving us up, our Peace, Prosperity and Plenty to the Calamity of a most unnatural War: the long desired occasion and expectation of those, who had lodg'd their private hopes in the Common Ruine, did most gladly salute the D. signs of *Oliver*; who, having spent the utmost Farthing of his Estate, and secured from an Imprisonment by his priviledge as a Member, was one of the first of those adventurous Knights that mounted the *Good Cause* behind them, and so took the field; which now Ploughed with Swords and Spears, and watered with Blood, answered its long denyed increase, and from a luckless Peasant made him a fortunate Pedant Prince.

For

For *Essex* no sooner founded her Trumpers under the Earl of *Essex*'s Banners then entitled *Generalissimus* for the King and Parliament, but *Cromwel* offered him his Service, and was thereupon honoured with a Commission of Captain of Horse; which to raise, he returned to his own County of *Huntingdon*: where among the Zealots he was never had in greater Estimation. He was also named a Commissioner in the Ordinance for the *Militia*, for that and the neighbouring Shires then entering into an Association against the King, the Ground-work and eminent endeavour of this great Conspirator, in pursuance of that rebellious Project of his party at *Westminster*; following herein the practice of all Ring-leaders, who do first collect Rabbles, and engage and assure places of retreat and fastness to all Events, though herein he practiced the more difficult and unprecedented combination of a people, for Wealth, and Sobriety, and Civility, and (for a great part most contrary to his Designs) little to be suspected of taking part with him. But it so luckily evened to him, that by his lopping off, as it were, this Limb of the Kingdom, and depriving the King thereby of any assistance thence, and of the convenience of the Ports of those Eastern Counties for any forraign supplies, one Canton of the Kingdom was as planet-struck in point of Allegiance, and not only a Member.

———— *Manum & inutile dextra, Per.*

but of a very sinister consequence to the Royal Cause; the Gangrene thereof spreading and diffusing it self through the whole Masse of the Nation, by feeding the Humourous rage of the War through the whole distemper thereof, till it finally consumed all; this being the abundant

abundant Magazin of Men and Horses for the Parliament Service.

This therefore was *Cromwel's* first Province or Superintendency, wherein he exercised the original Office of a Major General, when as yet he sounded no more than a Captain, being the chief Committee-man of the Association, making himself most notably eminent by his Activity and zealous industry in promoting the Good Cause, and Levying and Listing of Forces, and Disciplining them, the skill whereof he had presently learned, from an exact observation of some veteran Commanders, *viz.* Colonel *Dolbier*, whom he had by great sums of Advance-money, and as extraordinary pay allured to his side.

The gross of those Troops he raised here, and sent from this Seminary to the Camp and School of Action, were such, whose dull Spirits were to be beaten into the knowledg of Arms, and like the *Turks Asapi* were on purpose sent thither to blunt the Weapons of the Kings generous Cavalry, and thereby to beget in them a relasch and contemptuous neglect of so base and despicablean Enemy: That such their secure confidence might conclude their ruine. He himself was all the while continued by especial Order of Parliament in this Employment, like an *Independent* Commander, to have an Eye upon any Attempts that might be made thereabouts, and as a *Parer* and preciser reserve to the *mixed* multitude, that then from the equal motives of pay and zealotry rushed into the War.

And therefore *Oliver*, understanding how miserably the Cavalry fresh men of his party were worsted at every Encounter, and well knowing the nature of the Quarrel (which was pretended for Religion) resolved and advised, that there were no men so likely to oppose

oppose the conquering Gallantry of those Gentlemen on the Kings side, than such who were or should be engaged upon account of Conscience and Zeal, which would spirit them with the same magnanimous Fortitude, and make them also to endure the difficulties and hardships of the War with a more pertinacious Constancy; as having bodies better able, and minds more finely sublimed upon that score *pro aris & focis*, than the mixed and most rascally Herd of loose and vicious people.

But yet prudently considering, that in so long an interval and vacancy of War, from which this Nation had been blessed, the most forwardest Horseurs on the account of zeal, might quale and shrink at the noise of the Battel, and their spiritual proud courage abate at the encounter, and never desie a Cavalier again after one dismal alarm and fright of a discomfiture; He would first prove and try his Troopers how they could endure a sudden terrour, and by that grow hardy to the Constancy of danger: (as Eagles certifie themselves of the genuine Race of their young ones, by their experiencing how they can out-stare and brave the Sun, and imitate them with a bold and passive Fortitude, the Hardy Rudiments of their fighting predatory life;) for as he relied on one hand upon their Religious Resolution and Spiritual valour, so did he not reject the Arm of Flesh, which should actuate those inward impulses, and by a just temperment of both to a true metal, conduct and manage their sober and well-governed bravery to an assurance of Success and Victory; and such whose hearts failed, he resolved to dismount them, and give their Horses to more courageous Riders. This he did by a *Stratagem* upon the first Muster of his Troop; when having privily placed twelve resolute men in an *Ambuscado*, (it being near

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some of the Kings Garrisons) upon a signal or the appointed time, the said Ambush with a Trumpet sounding a charge, galloped furiously to the Body, out of which some 20. instantly fled out fear and dismay, and were glad the forfeiture was so cheap and easie, and ashamed of their childish and disgraceful deserting of their station and Colours, had not the Confidence to request their continuance in his service, or deny, or scruple the rendering their Horses to them who should fight the Lords Battel in their stead.

His next design upon the place, was to make a convenient Garrison thereabouts, which should as well respect his forces security, as the annoyance of the Kings; and therefore he pitcht upon *Whitlesae*, where a Bridge joyns the County of *Norfolk* with the Isle of *Ely*, and no other passages from thence into *Lincolnshire*, most whereof was Garrison'd by the Royal Party; and by this means he did first prevent and cut off all intercourse betwixt the Loyal Gentlemen of both; advised and assisted herein by *Lexon*, who first came to his acquaintance in this place, and was afterwards famous for his nimble Seizure of some Gentlemen at *Burleigh-House* near *Grantham*.

Against the dangerous evil of this Association, the King directed His *Commission of Array*, which was first put in Execution in *Hartfordshire* by Sir *Henry Conisby*, High Sheriff of that County, who proclaimed it at *St. Albans*, and intended to raise the County to the Kings Assistance; but by the vigilance of *Oliver Cromwel*, the Design was prevented. For by that time the Members at *Westminster* had notice of Sir *Henry's* Loyal Endeavour, *Cromwel* with a party of Horse had surprized and seized that party almost in the very instant of their Appearance, and sent Sir *Henry*, and some other prime Gentlemen

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engaged with his Prisoners to *London*, to the great satisfaction and liking of the Parliament Grandees, who were at first agast at an attempt made for the King so near their own dores: and thereupon this the *r* Commander was ordered the Thanks of the House, and from thence forward look'd upon as an eminent person, and a Champion of the Cause, which now jeopard'd it in the field: when the cowardly Settlement of these parts with-held *Cromwel* in this Province, which like a parcel of the former Heptarchy he himself ruled and governed absolutely and *pro imperio*.

His next piece of Service was of the like nature, and of the same evil Consequence to the King. For divers Gentlemen of the County of *Suffolk* (another of the associated Counties) resenting this Curb upon their Allegiance, and sawey Edicts and Commands of the Committees, which were made up of the meanest of the Gentry, and Burgesses of the Towns, designed together to free themselves & their Country from the yoke of these new Lords: The chief of these Gentlemen were *Sir John Petus*, *Sir Edward Baker*, &c. who having, in order to their Conjunction, rendezvoured at *Lowestoft* in that County, were by the preventing diligence of *Cromwel* seized and secured; and thereby such a Breakneck given to any future Royal undertaking in those parts (the rendition of *Lyn Regis*, which then held for the King, soon after following this defeat and disappointment) that throughout the whole course of the War, there happened not any the least commotion in favour of his Majesties Arms, either by supply, assistance, or diversion.

Things being thus quieted thereabouts and disposed to the interest of the *Funda*, there remained after the Military part, a Scholastical labour for this Parliam-

mentary

mentary *Heretic*, the zealous cleansing of the Univer-
sity of *Cambridge*, the Parent of this Viper, who
just before his infectious production into the main
Army, (whither he was now designed) did miserably
exterminate her, leaving her a sad and doleful Skeleton,
deprived of so many learned and religious persons,
whose only Charge was, that they adhered to the dis-
tates of their Conscience, and the Obligation of
those Oaths, which just Authority had enjoined, a-
gainst those novel and illegal Commands and Cove-
nants, forcibly imposed and obtruded on them. In
this destructive work, his module and method of Am-
bition, *Cromwel* was mainly and chiefly active, as al-
so against the Orthodox and Protestant Ministry, and
their Churches, defacing all the Ornaments and Beau-
ty thereof, leaving them the ruinous Spectacle of his
Reformation.

And from this Employment now finished, he was
Commissioned Lieutenant General to the Earl of
Manchester, who had the separate Command in a dis-
tinct Supremacy of these associated Counties, and
was designed to march Northwards with those Forces
and join with the *Scots* newly entered *England*, and
the Lord *Fairfax* against the Marquis of *Newcastle*,
who was General for the King in those parts, and yet
ballanced the Fortune of the War against that potent
Scotch Invasion; but upon the conjuncture and addi-
tion of the Earl of *Manchester's* fresh, and well Dis-
ciplined, and Armed forces, the said Marquis was con-
strained to quit the field, and distribute his Army, into
the Garrisons, he himself shutting up the best part of
it in the City of *Fork*, which the Confederates pre-
sently besieged, and made several venturous attempts,
wherein *Cromwel* was none of the backwardest,
though always repulsed with loss and considerable
slaughter.

The importance of this place, and juncture of time, which either won or lost the North to the King (who newly had great success in the West, by the defeating of the Earl of *Essex* at *Lestrichell* in *Cornwall*) caused him to send away Prince *Rupert* as *Generalissimo*, with a very potent Army to raise that Siege, and fight the Enemy if he found occasion. The Prince accordingly advanced, and upon his approach the Confederates drew off from their League, affording the Garrison liberty to joyn with their friends: when it was resolved by the Prince, without any delay to give battel; though the Marquess knowing what hazard the Kings interest, and his own, and all the Loyal parties Estates would thereby be put to, did very much diswaide the suddenness of the Encounter: which notwithstanding ensued on the Evening of the same day, *July 2.* on *Marston-moor* within three miles of *Tark*, and lasted till dark night.

30 Here in the beginning the *Scots* and my Lord *Fairfaxes* forces were totally routed and pursued some miles out of the field, and the day given for lost, when *Cromwell* with his associated Horse, most of them Curassiers in the left Wing, seeing this discomfiture, fell on with great resolution and courage, and worsted the Prince and his Reserves; and with the same fury fell upon the Marquesses foot, whose Regiment of *White-Coats*, and therefore called his Lambs, yet stood, and could not be broken, till the field being almost cleared, the Parliaments Infantry came up, and then both horse and foot charged and broke them. *Cromwell* here made a very great slaughter and Carnage, especially in the rout and pursuit purposely to make his name terrible; this being his first and grand appearance, gaining here the Title of *Ironsides*, from the impenetrable strength of his Troops, which could by no means be broken or de-

vided.

vided. Being here at the first charge of the Cannon, endangered with a grasing shot, feared by his Men to be hurt therewith, he replied merrily, *A Mile is as good as a Mile.*

The success of this day made him indeed highly famous, and his Laurels most verdent & flourishing, the victory being principally ascribed to his courage and conduct. His Cunctation and temperate delay were highly magnified; and then his Resolution in the desperation of the event extolled the firmness and constant equality of his mind: when intrepidly and fixedly he beheld the overthrow of the gross of their Army, and thereby animated his Troops to the more vigorous recovery of the day, now that the adverse fury was spent in the chase of their fellows the *Scots*, whom *Crom.* ever afterwards though in Covenant with them, most disdainfully despised, but not only for this reason.

The credit of this Atchievement was industriously cryed up at *Westminster*, and all the Grandezza's of Scriptural *Ovation* fitted and accommodated thereto; He himself with the same conquering Troops, as yet in the same quality under the Earl of *Manchester*, was remanded from the North to oppose the King, then returning victorious out of the West; and because the Earl of *Essex* had hitherto been unfortunate, therefore this lucky Chieftain was added to a better Star, at the second Battel of *Newbury*, within four Months after *Marston-Moor*; and here again the Fates favoured him, though not with a compleat Victory, yet on that side where he fought with a part of one, and so much as endangered the person of the King, if the noble and stout Earl of *Cleveland* had not hazardously interposed, and bore off the pursuit.

This indifference of Fortune begot very great differences among the Parliament Commanders, one

Taking the other of Neglect, Treachery, or Cowar-
 dize, and by what means it could come to pass that
 nothing was yet effected against the King, whom in
 the beginning of the War they had thought to have
 swallowed up presently. Nor were the divisions less
 at home than in the Camp, for now the younger Bro-
 ther of the Rebellion, the *Independent Faction* began
 to appear; a preciser and severer sort of Zealots, who
 thought *Essex* and his Army not righteous enough,
 nor fit instruments, in whose hand the work of Refor-
 mation should ever be blessed to an attainment, and
 that therefore it was fit the Army should be purged of
 such Officers, or the Cause would never prosper. To the
 same purpose *Oliver* was tampering with his *Myrmi-
 dons*, frequently bewailing the want of Faith and
 Grace in the heart of the Soldiery, which alone re-
 tarded the desired conclusion, that the great men of
 the Army minded themselves more than God or his
 people, and that purposely they protracted the War,
 not sparing to insinuate his own General the Earl of
Manchester of the same prevarications, aggravating
 the affront he received before *Donnington Castle*, and
 some other later miscarriages, which coming to the
 ear of the said Earl, who rightly guessed the ambi-
 tious Drift of his Lieut. General, He caused a Charge
 and Impeachment to be drawn up against him for
 some misdemeanors in the Army, as stirring up of
 mutiny, &c. and delivered it to the Lords, to whose
 Bar *Cromwel* was summoned, but he refused their Ju-
 risdiction, pleading his priviledg as a Member of the
 House of Commons, who alone had Cognizance of
 him: and to be even with the Earl, recriminated him
 in the same manner to the House of Commons, but
 both these accusations stuck upon the file without a-
 ny prosecution on either side, either party as yet

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fraid of the other, and distrustful of their plots, not having yet attained the absolute power from the King, which was the only Subject of the Quarrel. So soon did these Twins of the Usurpation struggle in the Womb of their Ambition, and through *Presbytery* was Midwife first, yet *Independency* carried away the Blessing, or rather the Curse of their prosperous Violence.

For the *Independents* had insinuated such plausible Expedients for the redress of this evil Manage of the Army, and by their austere Piety (which *Oliver* most devoutly personated, being frequent in praying and preaching in his Quarters) had conciliated such an esteem of their Councils, which were absolute Intriguers to the contrary Faction, that a Resolution was taken to module the Army, and appoint a new General; and in this Consultation great part of the Winter 1644. was taken up: the rest was spent in a seeming tendency to Peace, by a Treaty held at *Uxbridge*; which Affair concerned *Cromwel* no further than thus, that it shewed how eminent and great a man he was taken to be, being named in the Parliaments Demands and Propositions, for one of the standing Commissioners, to whose trust and exercise the *Militia* of the Kingdom (upon agreement) should be committed.

While these and the like Articles were in vain debating, the prosecution of the War was effectually intended; and the New module so far advanced, that an Ordinance passed the two Houses, wherein it was forbidden any Member of either House to have any command in the Army or Garrisons; and the time limited to forty dayes from the publishing of the said Ordinance. By this fair and impartial dealing (as they called it) the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, *Stam-*
ford,

ford, and *Denbigh*: *Sir William Waller*, *Sir Philip Stapleton*, and others were laid aside, only Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwel* was respited for a while longer, because of his present usefulness in that unsettled Condition of the Army, and because he had been of an unexampled success and Conduct. In the place of *Essex*, *Sir Tho. Fairfax* was made General: and he issued out Commissions to such whom the *Independents* favoured, most of the Supreme Officers being discarded, and entituled the *Reformadoes*, and left a begging their pay, and their Inferiour ones substituted in their places. Among the rest of these new blades, *Ireton* was raised to be Commissary General of the Horse, *Cromwel's* second, who had newly married one of his Daughters, and was as near in brain to him as in blood.

This continuance of *Crom.* in his Command after all the other Members of Parliament were laid aside, at last upon the marching of the Army in the beginning of the year 1645. stiled him Lieut. General; a little before which he had doctinated his Regiment in the new mode of Addresses to the Parliament, and to the General, setting forth their acquiescences and gladness in his frame and module of the Army, and that they were ready to lay down their lives in prosecution of the good Cause so far advanced. And this Arche-type was soon after followed by every Regiment and Garrison, whereunto none but the Creatures and Confidants of *Independency* were now admitted.

For from the first Head-quarters of this Army, *Cromwel* (having newly come out of the West, and tendered his Service to the General, if the Parliament should think fit, but intimating his sorrow that he feared he should not have the Honour to wait upon him (when at the very instant came down another Dispensation) was sent with a flying party of Horse

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Horse (by his party's prevalency in the House for forty
 dayes longer) to intercept a Convoy of Horse which
 was the Queens Regiment, the Earl of *Northamp-*
ton's, and Colonel *Palmer's*, with some other Troops
 coming to *Oxford*, to bring off the King with his
 Train of Artillery; who made such hast, that at
Istip Bridge he surprized and routed them, took four
 hundred Horse, and two hundred Prisoners, with the
 Queens Standard, and continuing his good speed, ha-
 ving got intelligence of a party of a three hundred and
 fifty Foot under Sir *William Vaughan*, who were
 marching toward *Ratcod-Bridge*, he pursued them, and
 took the said Sir *William*, Lieutenant Colonel
Littleton, and two hundred more Prisoners, and
 immediately summoned *Blechingdon House* not far
 distant from the place, whither some Ladies were
 newly come to give a visit to Col. *Windebank's* (the
 Governour's) Bride, who being affrighted with the
 suddenness of the danger, never left importuning the
 unfortunate Gentleman till he rendred the Garrison;
 though *Cromwel*, for want of Foot, could never have
 forced him out, making use of this Stratagem by raising
 a Cry of, *Fall on Foot, fall on!* for this surrender, upon
 his coming to *Oxford*, by Sentence of a Council of
 War he was shot to death, leaving his Widow to blast
 with her sighs and tears, *Cromwel's* Laurels, who with
 this envious Triumph returned to his General. And
 this first happy Exploit, done by him in the beginning
 of the Expedition, was taken and published for a good
 Omen of his future Service; and therefore the Pru-
 dence of the Parliament was much commended in
 continuing him in Command, who was so honest
 an Instrument of carrying on the remaining work
 through so many difficulties, which had so long, and
 yet seemed so insuperably to impede it. Thus did his
 Faction

Faction and Partisans prepare and sublime him to his succeeding Enterprises and designs after the expiration of the War.

To enhance this reputation, and to secure his continuance in the Army, he next resolved upon a gallanter, and more hazardous Attempt, the reducing of *Faringdon House*, which had been an impregnable and most advantageous Garrison for the King; the Governour, was *Sir George Lytle*, a person of an invincible Spirit, and eminent throughout the War; To the better effect of this Design, he borrowed 600 foot of *M. G. Brown* from *Abingdon*, and with them fell presently to storming, but was notably repulsed, losing 50. men, without any success at all; and before he could get off was attacked by a party of General *Goring's* Horse, commanded by himself, then newly come out of the West from *Taunton* Siege, who, being as vigilant and valourous a Commander as himself, gave *Cromwel* the first brush he received in the War, taking three Colours, and Major *Bethel* prisoner, and so returned to his former League at *Taunton*.

In the mean while General *Fairfax* by Order of the Committee of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, who ordered the Conduct of the War, was advancing into the West for the relief of the said Town of *Taunton*, and, because the King was yet at *Oxford* preparing to take the Field, *Cromwel* was left behind in the same parts, where now he quartered with Major General *Brown* to attend the Kings motion, and to impede his Conjunctions with the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, then coming with a Compleat Body of Horse out of *Warcestershire*; but his Majesty had equipped so gallant an Army, that *Cromwel* durst not venture to fight him, or retard his Much any whither, so that *Fairfax* was presently recalled

recalled, and ordered to sit down before *Oxford*, to reduce the King to the care of that place, and upon advantages to fight him: When News came that the King, having joyned with the Princes, and relieved *Chester* besieged by Sir *Will. Brereton*, was now returning and bending his March towards the Associate Counties, the heart and untouch'd strength of the Parliament Cause, and therefore *Cromwel* was immediately dispatch'd into the Isle of *Ely*, with three Troops to secure that against any Invasion, it being as the Bulwark or Fortress of the rest. But the King diverting from that course, came and sat down before *Leicester*, and after summons stormed and took it. Which put the Parliament into such a fright that they commanded *Fairfax* to rise from *Oxford*, and presently find out the King and fight him, who was now (as he himself writ to the Queen) in a better and more successful condition than any time since the War. This Order *Fairfax* (having never sent in a summons to the City, as fore-judging he should rise without it disgracefully) readily obeyed, but withal requested them that they would forthwith dispatch away *Cromwel* from the Isle of *Ely*, to command the Horse, extolling his Experience and Success in that Service.

Accordingly *Cromwel* reinforced, and recruited with 500. Horse, of the Association, returned to the Army then marching to *Northampton*: Where the General was informed that the King lay about *Davenry*, quartering his Foot and Carriages upon *Borough-Hill*, as if he intended to fight upon that ground if they should advance. But he stayed till the 200. Horse, which he had sent to carry the Cattle he had taken out of *Leicester* and *Northampton-shire*, for the Supply of *Oxford*, were returned, intending thence according

cording to advice of his Council of War, to march to the Relief of *Pomfret Castle* in the North, and to reduce those parts lost to him ever since *Marston Moor*, and so to draw on *Fairfax* after him, and fight him at advantage: which he could not do in these counties, that were every where Garrison'd by the Parliament forces.

But this Resolution, the quicker Consultation and Opinion of *Cromwel* soon disappointed; for by his advice (now that their Army could expect no other Additions but *Col. Rossiter*, who was then also in a Dayes march of them, for *Sir John Gell* was joyned already) *Ireton* was presently dispatch'd with a Brigade of Horse to observe the posture of the Kings Army; and if they were upon their March Northwards, to skirmish them in the Rear, and keep them in Action till the whole body could come up & engage. June the 13th. *Fairfax* came to *Gilsborough*, within five miles of *Borough-hill*, whence the Cavaliers, the 1200. Horse being returned, were march'd Northwards: and the next night to the wonder and amazement of the King, *Ireton* gave an Alarm to His quarters at *Naseby*, whence about 11. of the Clock the King dislodged and hastned to *Harborough*, where Prince *Rupert* and the Van of the Army was quartered, here a Council of War was presently convened, and by the Kings fatal Opinion concluded, that because there was danger of bringing off the Rear of his Army, the Enemy pressing so near and hard upon them, that therefore they should desist from their March further Northward, and immediately turn back upon the Enemy, and give him Battel, relying chiefly upon the valour of the Infantry, now flush and encouraged with the Plunder and Spoil of *Leicester*.

This was put in Execution (though the Major voices were for staying till General *Goring* with his forces

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forces were come up) and the Kings will obeyed. For very early in the morning the Scouts brought word, that the King was making all haste to the Engagement, being falsely informed that *Fairfax* in fear was retreating to *Northampton*, whereas he had now disposed of *Naseby* field, and awaited Him, having *Cromwel* with *Whalley* on his right wing, and *Ireton* on his left, the one opposed to my Lord *Langdale*, and the Northern Horse, & the other to Prince *Rupert* General of the Cavalry, the King himself being *Generalissimo*. To come to the event, Prince *Rupert* totally routed *Ireton*, who, being engaged and driven upon the Kings rightmost Foot, was there wounded in the Thigh with a Halbert, and taken Prisoner, and the Field on that hand cleared; which *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* observing, having not yet stirred from their ground, *Fairfax* with a short Speech encouraged the Troops to the Charge; which was seconded with some devout Ejaculations from *Cromwel*, who clapping Spurs to his Horse, fell in with *Langdale's* Brigade, and quite charged through three bodies and utterly broke them; nor did he stop till with his forces he had likewise beat that wing from their ground, without possibility of rallying or recovering it again. In this Action a Commander of the Kings knowing *Cromwel*, advanced smartly from the Head of his Troops to exchange a Bullet singly with him, and was with the like gallantry encountred by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their Pistols being discharged, the Cavalier with a slanting back-blow of a broad Sword, luckily cut the Ribbond that tyed his Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his his head, and now ready to repeat his stroke, his party came in and rescued him, and one of them alighting, threw up his Head-piece into his Saddle, which *Oliver* hastily catching, as being

being affrighted with the chance, clapt it the wrong way on his head, and so fought with it the rest of the day, which proved most highly fortunate on his side, (though the King most magnanimously and expertly managed the fight, exposing himself to the eminentest perils of the Field) and raised him beyond the Arts and reach of Envy, or his Enemies of the *Presbyterian* party, who had so long been heaving at him, to out him of all Military employment, which concluding so pertinently and peremptorily for him in this grand Event, did charm the hatred malice and prejudice against him into fear and dread, what this arrogance of his Fortune would finally aspire to.

This Battel wholly overthrew the King, who was never after able to make Head against the Parliaments forces, but piece-meal lost his Armies, Castles, and Towns; *Fairfax* taking in the remoter *Western* Garrisons, while *Cromwel* was employed nearer to *London*, being sure to have one eye to the Counsels of the Parliament, as well as the other intent against the King. Among the rest of those places taken by him, as *Winchester*, the *Deviler* and *Langford-House*; *Basing-House*, that had defeated so many Sieges, and ruined so many Leagues, was not able to withstand the Fortune of this Victor, but humbled it self to dust and ruin at his first and terrible approach.

The War now almost expired, he began to ruminate on his former Dreams, and to adjust those strange revolutions and unexpected alterations of the Times and the Government to his former Fancy, in which he had so much affiance anew, that he became resolutely confirmed, that all those things were brought about meerly to fulfill that Oracle of his Imagination, *That he should be King*. And therefore he thought it a just reverence to his Fate, to neglect no advantages, occasions,

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occasions, and means which might conduce to the accomplishment of its mystery, and conciliate its constant affection and favour to him. One thing primarily requisite, was the assistance of some confident Privado, and to this purpose he had before pitch'd upon Col. *Ireton*, a man of a most profound and deep dissimulation, and of a most clean conveyance of any mischievous design, one very well learned, but who had converted it (as Toads do the best nutriment unto the most exquisite poyson) to barbarous and most Horrid Artifices of Impiety and Treason; this man, *Cromwel* made sure to him, first to Marriage, as aforesaid, and now by a more mutual endearment, the partnership of the Sovereignty, which they agreed to seize: and from henceforth they never ceased plotting and conspiring, now colloquing with this party, then with that, and fomenting divisions still betwixt all, till with those many strange patches of Policy, *Cromwel* made himself a Protectoral Robe, with which he was not many years after solemnly vested.

In the mean time the King in *Oxford* fearing a Siege, and having no better shelter in *England* to secure himself, after he had in vain wooed the Parliament from this his Court to a Treaty and Agreement, designed an escape out of their hands; and to that purpose (Colonel *Rainsborough* and other Forces at a distance lying about all the passes of the City) by Colonel *Ashburnham's* means procured a pass from the General for the said Colonel *Ashburnham* and his two Servants to travel from *Oxford*, upon some pretence of private business of the Colonels, and by vertue thereof in a Disguise of a Servant passed their Guards, and after many traverses delivered himself into the *Scotch* hands, then besieging *Newark*. Herein *Cromwel* most cunningly and deceitfully first practis-

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ed the Kings ruine: For whereas upon the rendition of that City, if the King had been taken in it, a sudden end had been put to the Troubles by some composition, which would have marr'd *Cromwel's* Plots, not to be acted but by a Stratocracy and an Army; by this means of suffering Him to escape, which might easily have been prevented, the War was nonearer a conclusion than at the beginning, if the *Scots* as was hoped howsoever, would have proved honest, and kept their Allegiance and Faith due to such extraordinary confidence and trust reposed in them.

Now to carry on their Treason the more irresistibly and discoverably, upon a plausible pretence of lessening the charge of the Kingdom, they concluded to put their Partisans in the Parliament (who gaped for the spoyle of the Kingdom, and would be content with that) to motion a Disbanding of some Regiments of the Army; which, being a just and necessary work, was assented to by many Patriots, who understood not the drift of the Conspiracy. And accordingly Major General *Massey*, and Colonel *Cook* and their Brigades were ordered to disband, amounting to Two thousand five Hundred Horse: which Journey-work was put upon General *Fairfax*, who at the *Devises* performed it, giving them six Weeks pay for many Months Arrears. Divers of the Disbanded came from very remote Countries, and had Passes, some for *Mesopotamia*, some for *Egypt*, and *Aethiopia*, a sanctified and pious Crew.

Major Gen. *Massey* was he whom they aimed at in this Dismission, as too much an *Essexian*, and of juster and honetter principles than their designs would allow, of a very great interest in the Army also, and very well esteemed and beloved by them, as being of a clear spirit, and as valorous as the best of them, and would

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would dare to oppose any rebellious practice whatsoever against the Authority of their Masters. Besides this *Cromwel* had a further reach to the future on the Parliament likewise, first to make a Division and beget and stir some ill humour in the Army, as if that were the leading case; next to make those Officers that should continue, when they should perceive at whose beck they must stand or fall, more fixedly dependent on him, and then to instil unto them his own traiterous designs and purposes: and so, having the Army entire at his devotion, effect and bring to pass all his Royal projections. *Massey* submitted, but carried the Revenges of this affront and Cabal with him to the Parliament-House. *Cromwel* upon the Kings rendring himself to the *Scots* at *Newark*, was at *Westminster*, and perceived by the toils and perplexity the Parliament was in about the Kings person, that it was a brave thing to be a Monarch, and therefore concluded it very necessary to other his Elements and Points of policy to get possession of His Majesty; and thereupon his party, the *Independent* Faction, being so instructed, fell violently upon the *Scots*, and would have run it up to little less than Treason for the *Scots* to detain the King. To this purpose divers Resolutions and Messages passed, but it appearing in the Conclusion that the *Scots* drove at a Bargain, *Cromwel* and his Faction most readily agreed to strike it, and so the King was delivered to the *English* Commissioners at *New-castle*.

Yet that nothing might slip or pass which any way promoted his ambitious purposes, he made use of this agreement of the 200000*l.* to be paid the *Scots* by his Agents to mutiny the Army under Gen. *Poyntz*, another *Presbyterian* Commander then at *York*, upon their Guard against the said *Scots*, as if the Parliament

had no care or respect for them, but that Forreigners should be paid with their money; and then afterwards upon the ceasing that Tumult and Military Sedition, to get *Poyntz* dismissed, as too remiss and negligent in his Command. And not long after died the Earl of *Essex*, one whom *Oliver* more feared than any or all the *Presbyterian* Officers together, Death officiously removing this great impediment also; so that by this time there was not an Officer left in the Army, that did not acknowledg *Cromwel's* Sultanship; the General himself being lulled and bewitched with the *Syren* Charms of his zealous insinuations.

The *Presbyterian* Party in the Parliament began now to be sensible, whither these devices tended, and therefore, to Counterplot this Cabal of *Cromwel's*, they resolved upon a new disbanding of some (the *Scots* having friendly departed home) and transporting of other Regiments for the Service of *Ireland*, for that the necessity of that Kingdom did require the Translation of the War thither: This the *Independent* presently perceived, and gave *Cromwel* timely notice of, who knowing himself to be principally aimed at, caused it by some of his Familiars to be spread about the Souldiery, that the Parliament by the major Vote of some corrupt Members, had voted the disbanding of the Army, to cheat them of their Arrears, and to send them in a necessitous condition into *Ireland*, to be there knock'd on the head by the Rebels. This presently put the Common Souldiers into such a rage, who always judge by the first appearance, that they flew out into most opprobrious and reviling Language against the Parliament; but Fury being no present remedy to this evil, *Ireton* and his instructed Pupils prescribe a Module (never heard of, or practised in War before) of a Military Common-Council, who should assemble

two Commission Officers, and two private Souldiers out of every Regiment, to Consult for the good of the Army, to draw up their grievances, and present them to the General, and he to the Parliament; these to be called by the Name of Adjutors.

Having thus made sure of the Army, he thought it time now to make sure of the King, whom the Parliaments Commissioners had brought to his Captivity at *Holmby-House*, and therefore *Ireton* and he having sometime before acquainted themselves with the King in this his restraint, and vowed and protested their readines to serve him, to the ensnaring the Kings belief, while they condoled the hard and unreasonable carriage of the Parliament towards him, especially in point of Liberty of Conscience, and the Worship of God (His Majesties Chaplains having been obstinately refused him) they judged it no difficult thing to get his Person into their custody and deceive his good nature, with the same semblances of it in themselves, only the manner was not presently resolved by them. For without the Generals consent and Command it could not be done in his name; nor might it avowedly be done by the Council of War: for it would be a peremptory and hazardous enterprise, and engage the whole Kingdom about their Ears. But at last it was concluded betwixt them that this Surprizal of the King should be fathered on the Council of Adjutors, as the sense and Act of the Army. Thus in all these pushes and puzzles of accidents did they extricate themselves by that Mungril Consistory, a meer *Chimera* or *Brainfick Idea* of a Convention which was conversant only about shadows and umbrages of things; while *Cromwel* ran away with the substance.

This way being agreed upon, one Cornet *Joyce* a

busie pragmatcal person, whom *Cromwel* his Famili-
ar had tutored in the Method of Boldness and Rebel-
lion, was privately conferred with about it, and after
some familiar compellations huggd into the Conspi-
racy, and immediately dispatched away with a party
of 1000 Horse on the 4. of *June*, to *Holmby*: where he
arrived late at Night, but being very importunate to
speak with the King, was by his order admitted, to
whom he declared his Errand; and being demanded
by whose Authority, whether by the General, or Coun-
cil of War? No other answer could be drawn from
him, but that it was from the Army, adding that if the
King should refuse to go along with him, he must car-
ry him away *per force*.

The King nevertheless deliberated the whole night,
and consulted with the Parliaments Commissioners,
what was most adviseable for him to do, though the
Sway of his Judgment invited him to the Armys Custody
(from a just Resentment of the sullenness & Rebellious
obstinacy of the Parliament) who had by *Joyce* offered
him (as the last and chief Artifice of *Cromwel* to all
sorts of ranks and persons) the liberty of Conscience,
with other specious and duriful pretences.

From *Holmby* therefore next Morning the King
was carried to *Childerly*; then the Head-quarters of
the Army, though the King desired to go to *New-
market* his own house, as perswading himself in some
greater degree of Royalty, than in the Parliaments
Tuition; but this was at first denied & a complemen-
tary amends made him by the General, and more par-
ticularly by *Cromwel*, that His Majesty could no where
be safer, or more regally honoured than in their Quar-
ters, which were the only Sanctuary of his person.

This daring presumption of seizing the King gave
light to the World what this *Oliver* would at last
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appear, though no certain Conclusions could be made, what the mischief did presently signifie: It was sufficient to *Cromwel's* design to amuse the world, and let them *guess* at the danger he had *readily* prepared beyond any *sudden remedy*. And therefore he now personates the Kings Interest, professeth himself exceeding sorry to have mistaken the quarrel, intimates and insinuates to the King, that there were a corrupt party (meaning the *Presbyterians*) in Parliament, who alone withstood his Resolution, and that he and all the power and friends he could make, were resolved to assert his Rights, and vindicate them from those unreasonable injuries of the *Juncto*, as he spared not frequently to own the same honesty to the Kings friends, then admitted to attend him; particularly he declared to Colonel *John Cromwel* (a Commander in the *States Service* in *Holland*,) then in *England*, *That he thought the King of England was the most injured Prince in the World*; and clapping his hand to his Sword in some passion said, Cousin *This shall right him*: to the very great contentment of the Loyal Subject, whom we shall have further occasion in this Discourse, and from this passage to mention.

In the mean while the King is at his earnest desire (which *Cromwel* seemed most officiously to study) conveyed to *New-market House*, and thither his friends and Chaplains without any restriction admitted; and such a sudden change made in the condition of the King, as to his Liberty and Honour, that most of his party were *dazzled* with the *shews* of it, and could not foresee the Treason that was hid under those fair *Unbrages*: Not could the King himself (so cunningly *Cromwel* carried it) give any true Judgment of his his Surprize, more than that the Examples and rules of all policy generally resolved him, *That the*

*Person of a Prince, in whose hands it remaineth, add-
eth Strength and Authority to that Party.*

The King being thus in Oliver's hands, as he had declared (upon Joyce's telling him, that he had the King in Custody) that he had the Parliament then in his Pocket; so his next main Work was to perform his word; and to this intent he never ceased exasperating the King against the *Presbyterian* Members in Parliament, thereby indisposing the King to any accommodation with them, though the Terms or Propositions sent His Majesty were so unreasonable that they needed no dissuasion to his Assent; but this *Ambodexter* so invisibly managed both the injustice of the *Juncto*, and the indignation and resentment of the King, that he was looked upon no otherwise then but at most as a *kind Spectator* and *Well-wisher* to the Kings Fortunes.

Nay so far had he proceeded in this Dissimulation and Treachery (the more detestable, by how much the simple confidence of so innocent a Prince was abused and deceived) that he stuck not sundry times voluntarily and of his own accord to assure the King, that if the Parliament failed in their duty, and did not speedily restore him, and settle the Kingdom, the Army should do it without them, and that to that very purpose the newly constituted Council or Court of *Adjudicators* were now proceeding, and that speedily his Majesty should see the effect of his Faithfulness and Allegiance, while he the more indiscernibly sought, and most nefariously practised his Ruine.

The *Presbyterians* in Parliament, were hastily alarmed at these Transactions of *Cromwel*; and therefore (the Army having assumed to themselves by decree of this their Court of *Adjudicators*, a right of Petitioning as *English Freemen*, as being no mercenary Souldiers) resolved

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resolved as was partly hinted before, to divide the Army and send part of it to *Ireland*, and forthwith to Cashiere *Cromwel* and his Chief Partizans, and to run parallel with his designs, to send Propositions to the King, at the same time as the Army had hammered out some proposals of more equal, and of fairer pretences than theirs, so that the King acknowledged the juster dealing of the Army: with which satisfaction of the King, *Cromwel* seemed very much delighted, assuring His Majesty that more than that now proposed (which yet plainly asserted the Regal and Monarchical right) should in time be brought about, and that he might be confident in him as his most Dutiful and Faithful Subject.

Thus practised he with the King by Delusion and Treachery, but against the Parliament he proceeded in a more forcible way: for his party therein had tryed all ways to over-reach the *Presbyterian* with fineness and Artifice, but found them so vigilant and sensible of their proceedings, and being also far the Major part of the House, that no issue was to be expected from debates and disputes with them. For a Declaration was now published, forbidding the Soldiers to Petition the Parliament, as being under their pay and command, and for disobedience hereunto, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Mr. now *L. Hollis* had drawn their Swords upon one Major *Tulday*, and committed another, one *Nicholas Tew* to *Newgate*, in the month of *May*, and a private resolution had been taken to secure *Cromwel* then in Town, and not suffer him to return to the Army now full of Rebellious Mutiny against them; which might have put an end to this grand Conspiracy, and the mischiefs ensuing: But *Oliuer* having sudden intimation of the design, got secretly and hastily out of Town, and upon a Flea-

bitten Nag without stop or stay arrived at the Rendezvous at *Triplo-Heath*, June 5. his Horse all in a foam, and there was welcomed with the Shouts of the whole Army, to whom he declared the Actions and Designs of the Parliament.

And here was made that pernicious and destructive engagement of perpetuating the Army till their desires; that is, till *Cromwel's* devices should be attained; and this for the better Security he caused to be confirmed at another more general Rendezvous, June the 14th. at *New-market*; where He himself was the first man alighting from his Horse at the head of his Regiment and lying upon his Belly that subscribed it, which was in several Parchment Rolls universally followed. I must not omit one further remarque, on this occasion, one *Edward*, afterwards better known by the name of Colonel *Sexby*, and *Lazingby*, both of the Council of Adjutants, were ordered by the said Council to attend the Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, then quartering near *Colchester* in *Essex*, with a draught of Engagement, every word whereof was privily dictated by himself and *Ireton*; yet at the Receipt hereof, *Cromwel* very angerly rising up in his Bed, demanded, *How they durst presume to give him any Papers?* they replied, *It was the sense of the Army, and that they were commanded to deliver it.* Be you well assured of that, saith he in the same rage; and presently thereupon read it, and instantly changing his countenance to a mild and devout Aspect, said, *It is a most just thing, God prosper it, I will stand by the Army with it to the utmost of my life and Fortunes*; and so, after many familiar Caresses dismissed them; it being his constant custom afterwards during this Intrigue, to take the the meanest Soldier by the hand, clap him on the shoulder, or box him lightly on the

the Ear, thereby to ingratiate himself into their favour, and it accordingly succeeded in this bold attempt and enterprize upon the Parliament.

For immediately hereupon an Impeachment is drawn up and presented to, and approved by, this Council of Adjutors against a 11, Membess of the House of Commons, the chief of the *Presbyterian* party, who had threatned and acted opposition to his Designs, viz. *Sir William Waller*, *Col. Massey*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, *Mr. Denzil Hollis*, *Col. Long*, *Mr. Anthony Nicholas*, *Sir Philip Stapleton*, *Mr. Glyn*, *Sir John Maynard*, *Sir Will. Lewis*, and *Col. Ed. Harley*; the main of which charge was, that they had been the Obstructors and Prejudicers of several Petitions to the Parliament for redress of publick grievancees, retarded the settlement of the Kingdom, and had shared the Revenue thereof among themselves, and last of all had underhand complied with the King — Imputations of all sorts to make something stick, and so catch one parties or others belief of their criminal Suggestions.

This was accordingly with impudence enough presented to the House of Commons by Colonel *Scroop*, *Okey*, *Hewson*, and *Pride*, *Lieut. Col. Goffe*, *Major Disborough*, *Berry*, *Clark*, *Carter*, *Rolph*, and *Saxby*; to which Charge a Paper was added, wherein they set forth, that, in pursuance of those Representatives, they had the Heads of the charge ready, and will appoint fit persons on their and the Kingdoms behalf to make it good: They demanded Money likewise and Arrears, and to be paid equally, with such who, being cajoled by the eleven Members, had engaged for *Ireland*, which forces they require to be kept from returning toward *London*, for fear of a design. And though the Parliament had expressly declared against this unparalleled violence, yet straight waies

wayes the Army advanced neerer to *London*, resolving not to desist their March till they were superseded the House; which affront was most abjectly suffered by the Parliament, and the said Members after some frivolous debates, suspended sitting till they had cleared themselves: and now *Cromwel* (having thus awed the Parliament, and abused the King) was come to a fair prospect of his aspired greatness, making good that presagious saying of his upon the seizing of the King by *Joyce*: there remained now nothing to hinder the facilitating of the residue of his Plot but the City of *London*: and we shall see him cajole and baffle them worse and more insolently than the Parliament.

But before we mention that, we must return to the King, now traversing the Country with his Army, and shewed to the people in great state, and received and welcomed every where by them with all demonstrations of joyful Allegiance, and in like manner yet complemented by *Cromwel*: Thus he progressed from *New-Market* to *Roxton*, thence by *St. Albans* to *Hatfield*, to *Windsor* (being carried towards *London* almost in the same Road, in which he was driven thence) to *Caversham*, back again to *Maidenhead*, to *Latimer*, *Stoke*, *Oatlands*, *Sion-House*, almost in view and hearing of those Tumults which forced him away; while in the interim, *Oliver* having made a Pique against the Citizens, and revenged one Tumult by another, had made the City submit, and receive the Domineering Army in Triumph through their Streets, with Lawrel and other Ensigns of Victory in their Hats.

With the Army returned those Fugitive Members that left the Parliament upon the same Tumults being invited by *Cromwel* to his Sanctuary of *Red-Coats*, while the remaining Members had voted the

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King's presence to *London*, to treat personally with his two Houses; all which Votes being Tumultuously obtained (by instinct of some of *Cromwel's* own sending to increase the violence) were afterwards vacated after a long struggling in the Parliament as contrary to Priviledge; and the secluded Members, who had resumed their seats, deserted *London*, and went some over Sea, others with passes to their own homes in the Country, resigning their ill employed power to *Cromwel*, and his Faction in the Parliament; who abused it ten times more. In Justification of this insolence they published a Declaration, wherein they said that the Parliament had declared that it is no resistance of Magistracy to side with just Principles, and the Law of Nature and Nations, being the same Law upon which they had assisted them, and that the Souldiers may lawfully hold the hands of the General who will turn his Cannon upon the Army on purpose to destroy them; The Seamen the hands of the Pilot who wilfully runs the Ship upon a Rock, as their Brethren the Scotch-men had also argued.

The said Declaration still directing them to the equitable sense of all Laws and Constitutions, as dispensing with the very Letter of the same, and being supreme to it, when the safety and preservation of all is concerned, and assured them; That all Authority is fundamentally seated in the Office, and but ministerially in the persons.

But before this great success, the dubious Expectation thereof had caused *Cromwel* to stagger now and then at his first Resolutions, (which if prosperous would at all times help themselves, and there ultimately he was fixed, whatever conditions and promises cross accidents should extort from him)

him) and therefore he was dealing with the King in way of recompence and reward for his Service in his restitution, that he should be made Earl of *Essex*, and a Knight of the Garter, his eldest Son to be of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, his Son in Law *Ireton*, to be either Lord Deputy, or at least Field Marshal General of *Ireland*. And it was reported by *Henry Cromwel*, that then Commanded the Generals Lifeguard, that the King had put himself upon his Father and Brother *Ireton*, to make his terms for him, and restore him to his Crown: Which grant of the Kings caused and produced those Proposals before-mentioned to be contrived, but now in the very nick of this Juncture, set forth and published, called the proposals for the settling a just and lawful peace, wherein the three first and last particulars, the Authority was left as entire in the King as before the rest were some *Caprichio's* of Biennial Parliaments and the like Figaries, whose impertinencies discredited the important veracity of the other. But this feud, betwixt the *Presbyterians* and *Cromwel*, ending so fortunately for him, there being nothing at present to withstand his first and grand intendment, he began to wave his respects to the King, and cast of those disguises wherewith he had made himself acceptable to the Kings adherents, and laid aside the King and them.

The King therefore gently reminds *Cromwel* of his promises, repeats to him his Protestations, and urgeth the Proposals aforesaid (and not only so, but, in confidence of the fair meaning of the Army, declines a speedier accommodation with the Parliament) but *Cromwel* begins to turn a deaf ear, to deny many things what he said and promised, to re-tract

tract from others, pretending the difference of times and circumstances, that they can not be performed; telling the King moreover, that he did mistake and not rightly understand his meaning; and in short, that though he would keep his word with his Majesty, now it was not in his power, for that the Adjutors were grown to such an ungoverned and insolent licentiousness, that until the Discipline of the Army could be recover'd, it were in vain to expect any such thing as he, when he promised really intended.

The King was at this time at *Hampton-Court*, perplexed on the one hand with the obstinacy of the Parliament in their Propositions, being more rigid since the last garbling by the Army; and on the other with the dangerous positions of the Adjutors and the Levelling party both in Camp and City, in which last *John Lilburn* was Chief of the Faction, who decry'd Monarchy and all former rights of Government, having something (which *Ireton* spread by the by as it were among the Souldiery) in projection on purpose to stave off all manner and means of settlement. This at last came to a System or Consistency, and was stiled an Agreement of the people, and was now the only darling of the Army and the Sectaries; being a mixture or miscellany of politick Notions no way practicable among *English men*, being a deformation or destruction of all things, but an establishment of nothing, a meer temporary expedient and shift of design, (except always their Arrears. Indemnity and the period to the Parliament) and this shape *Cromwel* assumes also, confessing and acknowledging the excellence, equity, and goodness of the same, the only fault in it was the

the unseasonableness; for as yet it was not his time and his Cueto appear so publicely against the King; and this his character of it was drest out and enlarged with such taking Saint-like Language, as the *Phanatick* rabble might best be surprized, and not suspect any of his own venomous designs to be lurking under the leaf of his Holy and sacred pretences. Withal when his Plot against the King was ripe for Execution, he caused a Fast to be published in the Army, (a certain forerunner of mischief with him) where he was as usually observed to howl and cry, and bedew his Cheeks with the Tears of Hypocrisie, Cruelty, and Deceit; and after this Mock-duty performed, he and the rest of the Officers pretended to confess their iniquity and abomination, in declining the Cause of the People, and tampering with the King, and then in the presence of the All-seeing God, acknowledge the way of an Agreement of the people to be the way to Peace and Freedome.

The King was in the mean while, by the fallacious advice of *Whalley*, and the practices of *Cromwel*, (who had caused frequent rumors to be whispered, of some Assassinate intended by the *Levellers* against his person) frighted from *Hampton-Court*, which place was found to be too near to *London* for fear of a rescue, in a dark and tempestuous night, in November 1647. an hour or two before which *Cromwel* then at *Hampton-Court*, cast himself upon his knees, and often kissing the Kings Hand, said, *So God bless me and mine as I endeavour yours, and your Childrens rights and dignities*; and turning to *Mr. Huntingdon* who from this passage could never afterwards endure *Cromwel*, but interrupted him) said, *Tarry you with the King this night, and if any thing happen here, bring*

bring me word; who accordingly did so with some grief and amazement, to which Cromwel replied with laughter, that the King was where he desired, and that there wanted nothing now to his desires, but that his Children were there to bear him company, under the disloyal custody of Col. Hammond, Governour of the Isle of Wight, and Brother to the most Learned and Reverend Dr. Hammond, which consideration, Cromwel forelaid, would invite the King in his distress to betake himself thither, where we shall leave him in a most disconsolate Imprisonment. The Votes of Non-Addresses being not long after procured by Cromwel's Menaces to the Parliament, when upon the Debate of them he declared in such like words; That it was now expected by the good People of the Nation and the Army, that the Parliament would come to some Resolution and Settlement, as the Price of all the Blood and Treasure that had been expended in the War; and that they would not now leave them to the expectation of any good from a Man, whose heart God had hardened; but if they did, they should be forced to look for their preservation some other way.

At the end of this Speech he laid his hand upon his Sword by his side, as was the more observed, because formerly in the same place it could not keep him from trembling, when Sir Philip Stapleton a man of spirit and metal baffled him; but Sir Philip and his Seconds were now out of doors. Next to him spoke Ireton, in the very same sense (being newly chosen a recruit for the Parliament, by the illegal Writ of Election) extolling and magnifying the valour, civility, and duty of the Army, concluding with the same threats, that if the Parliament would not settle the Kingdom without the King, then they of necessity must and would.

So that after some Opposition; the said votes having passed against any further Address to be made to the King, *Oliver* thought himself cock-sure, and therefore the King, Parliament, and City, being in his power, he had no rub left to his Ambition, but those Imps and Spirits of his own raising and conjuring up the Adjutors and Levellers of the Army, who having con'd their Lesson of the Agreement with the people, were become most artful and skilful Governours, already boasting in the Countrey, (many of which silly people they had induced to their side upon the account of laying all in common, and in a wild Parity) that the Parliament sate only during their pleasure, and till a new Representative (then forming) should take upon them the Government; nor did they more dutifully respect, and behave themselves to their Officers, whom they counted as pieces of the prerogative Military, and therefore decried all Courts and Council, of them, which now began to separate and act by themselves, without the mixture of these Adjutors.

This exorbitancy and height of the Soldiery was altogether as destructive to *Cromwel*, now he had done his work with them for this time, as any of the other three Interests: but desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures, for immediately the Headquarters being then at *Ware*, Colonel *Eyr* a Leveller was seized and imprisoned, and one *Arnold* a private Souldier shot to death for promoting the former solemn Engagement, and Agreement of the people, and after that he cashiered all such who favoured the same: and to fan and cull out the rest, he proceeded to disband 20 out of a Troop, by which the most of that Party were totally excluded; the like

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was done in *London* by the Imprisonment of *Mrs. Prince*, and others of the same Faction.

Having thus for the present still'd that commotion in the Army, the danger of a second War seem'd as fresh to threaten the *Juncto* and *Cromwel*, by reason their injurious Votes of *Non-Addresses*; and therefore to prevent so formidable a Conjunction of all Interests and Parties against him, he now by his Party and Emissaries proposeth an accommodation between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and a way and means whereby they may be so united: at the motion of this in the House of Commons, a Gentleman, replyed, *That if there were any such persons who had any private Interest different from the publick, and under the distinction of parties had prejudic'd the Kingdom, he was not fit to be a Member of that House*: Nevertheless, it was insisted on, that the House would declare and ratifie their Votes of nulling and making void the Votes that pass'd in the absence of the Speakers, that fled into the Army in 1647, and their Engagement of adhering to the Army, which were tacitly confessed to be then unduly procured; so fearful and doubtful was he again of the issue of those new Troubles he foresaw would fall out, and therefore would shelter himself and justify his Actions by the Authority he had so often boasted.

The same Artifices he us'd likewise to the City, offering them now upon the like condition of uniting Interests, the freedom of their Lord Mayor and Aldermen, viz. *Sir John Gayr*, Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Adams*, and others, and the setting up again their Posts and Chains; but when they (having already treated and engaged with the *Scots*, then in preparation for a March into England) refused to

give ear to any Propositions or terms, relating the base affronts he and the Army had put upon them. He questioned his Agent *Glover*, who gave him Commission to make any such Overtures? and in great rage turned him out of his Service.

About the same time to be in preparation and readines against any City tumultuary onslought or deliberate Massacre, he had several Magazines furnished in private Houses in *London*, to Arm his Phansick partakers, one of which being found out was out-noised by him to be the store of the Malignant and *Presbyterian* Party, and the Arms accordingly secured and closely delivered into his hands again; which was consonant to his former Cheats, when upon the disband of the Supernumeraries, their Arms were delivered to his disposal, and others more addicted to his Party Listed and Armed with them in other Regiments, so that the charge to the publick was still the same.

The danger still increasing, he suffered the Lords as namely the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln*, Lord *Maynard*, *Willoughby*, &c. whom he had impeached of High Treason after his March into *London*, to be freed from their Imprisonment in the *Tower*, and with them the Major and Aldermen aforesaid. And as a further satisfaction and submission to the Authority of the Parliament, A Declaration of the Army is published, wherein they bewail their former miscarriages and misdemeanors towards the Parliament, their meddling with the Civil power, and that force and violence they had offered to the two Houses, and in conclusion promise faithfully and dutifully to acquiesce in their resolutions and Wisdom. With this Horrid *Panacea* deluding the *Presbyterian* party into a kind of stu-

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pid neutrality or rather worse, while yet they would by no means comply with the King, until *Polyphemus* Courtesie appeared in this *Cromwellian* Craft.

The *Scots* under Duke *Hamilton*; having entered *England*, and divers Insurrections happening in *England* and *Wales*, according as was expected, *Cromwel* was ordered by the Parliament to attend the first of them, which was the *Welsh* and *Northern* Armies (though the *Scots* delayed their March so long till all was neer lost in *England*) and after a short Siege, upon the Defeat at *St. Fagons*, which was atchieved in his absence, took in *Tenby-Castle*; *Pembroke-Castle* held out against him a while longer, but, his haft indulging them good terms, was yielded; thence he marched for *Lancashire*, having joyn'd with Major General *Lambert*, who attended the motion of the *Scotch* Army; and at *Preston*, his forces amounting to few more than 9000 Men, whereas the *Scots* were no less than 20000, gave Duke *Hamilton* Battle, and after a very short dispute, wherein the *English* Force under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made him the greatest Opposition, totally routed the *Scotch* Army, taking all their Artillery, Bag and Baggage and some 9000 prisoners, with the Duke himself in that pursuit Southwards; while he followed the main of the flying Army Northwards, with a resolution of putting a final end to that business, and to rid himself of the Fears which from thence had hitherto perplexed him. Upon this his hasty advance, Major General *Murray* who commanded the reserve of 6000 Men to the former Army, and was marching after them, immediatly returned to *Berwick*, and so back into *Scotland*; *Berwick* upon *Cromwel's* approach rendered it self upon terms, and hindered not his ad-

vance to *Edinburgh*, where by the Committee of Estates he was very sumptuously welcomed.

Monro as yet and the Earl of *Lanerick* with him stood to their Arms upon the *Hamilton* account in the West of *Scotland*, and the Marquis of *Argyle*, with another party stood for the purer Kirk, which since the Dukes march had recovered its Magistracy and Superiority, and with *Cromwel*'s accessional Troops could give Law to the Kingdom; but because *Cromwel* was loth to venture a new War there, so far distant from his main design which the Army succeeded at home had now matured, and his presence only wanting to accomplish it, he so ordered the matter that a Treaty was procured, by which all parties were to lay down there Arms (a greater assurance to him than if the Kirk had been absolute victor) the *Hamiltonians* to have indemnity, but none of them to be admitted or elected for the next Parliament or Assembly General, so that he so absolutely manacled that Nation, that they had no other use of their hands then to hold them up to heaven at the doleful murder of their natural Prince, whom by their primitive rebellion they had brought to the Block.

Things thus seded in *Scotland*, he departed thence, having been most highly and magnificently treated by the Grandees of that Kingdom before and at his departure, and complemented by the Kirk as their deliverer, which he requested in as good Scriptural Language, laying his hand on his breast and demurely looking on their *Scotch* screwed faces, and laughing to himself what Idiots he had made of those Politicians at their own sanctified Weapons.

In his way homeward he visited the Siege of *Pemfrort*, and was by the Commander in Chief against

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that place importuned to see it reduced, but staid on-
ly to the gaining of the Town (it being believed that
his fortune or experience mastered all things) as he
was afterwards at *Scarborough*, which being upon the
point of Surrender, he dispensed for the Honour
thereof to stay at that Leagure and have it delivered
into his hands; and so posted for the head-Quarters
of the Army then at *St. Albans*, having subdued all
the Opposition made this Summer 1648, where he
was welcomed with the highest gratulations of his
late archièvement, especially by the Officers, for as
yet the Souldiers knew not what to think of him as
to their new Agreement of the People, which was
now began again and favoured already by *Ireton* so
much, as that he had it under consideration, and pro-
mised to return it with some additions and amend-
ments of his own.

And that proved that accursed Remonstrance of
the Army, in which all the former freaks of policy
were inserted to make up the number, but the burden
thereof was the Treasonable contrivance of the Kings
Death, and the altering the Government; for first
they remonstrated to the Parliament, That all persons
of whatsoever quality or condition, not excepting the
King, that had been guilty of the blood spile in the
late War, should be brought to justice and condigne
punishment; Next, That a day should be set for the
summoning the Prince and the Duke of York, to ap-
pear and clear themselves of such things as should be
laid to their charge, and if they did not then to be de-
clared incapable of succeeding in the Government.
Many such these were of the like Batch, but all of
them concluded with a most favourable Aspect to
the Royal party, whose fines and compositions they

pretended to have mitigated, and many more good Morrows, on purpose to amuse even them too, as they had deceived and outwitted the *Presbyterians*; This pestilence Paper *Cromwel* got delivered to the House of Commons by a select number of Officers, just as they had almost concluded with the King, by a Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, to the amazement and fright of all good Christians and Subjects.

And here *Cromwel* terminated and centred all the crooked lines of his most impious Ambition, resolving to stand or fall by this Conclusion; and therefore immediately, (the Army being then advanced to *London*, to prosecute this Remonstrance) as he had dispatched *Col. Irem* to take the King out of the Custody of *Hammond*, and carry him over to *Hursth Castle*, a most unhealthful place, so did he upon notice that the Parliament had voted the Kings Concession a ground for a Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, command *Coll. Pride*, a fellow who had not wit enough to consider his business, to seize upon the avenues and passages to the Parliament House, and exclude above 140. Members, whose names were given him in a Roll: which unheard of and unparallel'd Violation, was back'd and secured by Force of Horse and Foot, quartering up and down the City and Suburbs, another lawless and forcible Intrusion upon their Charter.

The House being thus purged, as they called it; and others, besides those that were forcibly secluded, absenting themselves for fear of being engaged and overpowred in those wicked Counsels which this Action portended, the remaining *Furfts* of his Culling, a great part whereof were Army Officers, not amounting in all to 60, passed an Ordinance for Tryal of the

King

King; the manner whereof by a high Court of Justice of his and *Ireton's* own forming and Conception was fully agreed upon, and the King brought from the said *Hurst-Castle*, by *Winchester*, *Farnham* and *Windsor*, to *St. James's*, in order thereunto.

But of this lamentable Tragedy so much hath already been said, that I will not add this supernumerary to load him here; though it were his principal Guilt, and to which all his other perpetrations were but intendency: such ministerial subservient practices as *hoc excepto*, the event not reckoned, might favorably pass for genuine and right policy, influenced and managed by the concurrent Fate of things, and the elevated Subterlies, and undisputable Strengths of a happy Brain, and more prosperous Sword, I will only instance two particulars, relating to this sad and fatal business, which discover the Abyss of this mans Villany.

There was mention made before of Coll. *John Cromwel*; This Gentleman, upon the news the States of *Holland* had received of this proceeding against the King, at the instance of Our Sovereign, then Prince of *wales* residing at the *Hague*, to them, to mediate and interpose in the business, was pitch'd upon by them as the only fit person, because of his relation to *Cromwel*, (who was looked upon there as the only Contriver of this mischief) to be employed in a message to him, with Credential Letters from the States: whereunto was added a blank with the Kings Signet, and another of the Princes, both confirmed by the States, for *Cromwel* to write his own conditions in, if he would now preserve the life of the K.

The Col. putting some confidence in what *Oli*ver had formerly told him, willingly undertook the

Errand, and forthwith repaired to London, (just before the Kings Martyrdom,) and found him out at his house, but so recluse and lock'd up in his Chamber with an Order that none should know he was within, that he could not be admitted till he had told his name. After mutual Salutations the Colonel desired a word or two in private, which being granted, he began roundly to tell him of the flagitiousness of the Fact, now almost ready to be committed, and how detestable it sounded abroad, adding that of all men living he never should have imagined that he would have had a hand in it, having protested so much for the King in his hearing. Whereupon Cromwel fell to his old shifts, telling him it was not he, but the Army, that 't was true once he did say such words, but times were altered, and providence seemed to dispose things otherwise; that he had prayed and fasted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him; whereupon the Coll. stepping back clapt the Door to, (to the agastings of Cromwel who suspected an assassinate) and coming close to him, Cousin said he, *it is no time to dally with words in this matter, look you here said he* (pulling out the abovesaid Papers out of his Pocket) *'tis in your own power not only to make your self but your Posterity, Family, and Relations happy, and honourable for ever, otherwise as they have changed their names before from Williams to Cromwel, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this Fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to wipe away.*

Cromwel here paused, and seemed to ponder with himself, and after a little space said, *Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you*

goe your Iun, but go not to Bed till you hear from me, I will confer and consider further about the business.

The Colonel did so; and about one of the Clock (within an Evening or two of the Murther) a Messenger came to him and told him he might go to bed, and expect no other answer to carry to the Prince; for the Council of Officers had been seeking God as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all that the King must die.

The other is of the same piece with the former (not to mention his threatening of Coll. *Downs* into an acquiescence with other the Regicides, upon the adjournment of the High Court of Justice, at the Kings request into the Painted Chamber; nor his like usage of Coll. *Ingolsby*, and holding his hands while he signed that horrid Sentence, and many other particulars of the same Crime) and perfectly discovers how much an Atheist or Mock of God he was in his pretended Piety and Devotion.

The very same day appointed for this Murther, *Cromwell* and the Officers assembled together, to consider of some means if possible (with security still to the Nation) of saving the Kings Life; and many tedious expedients were offered by some not so bloody as the rest, and a speedy Remonstrance to the Parliament proposed, and in the mean while the King should be Respired. *Cromwell* likewise seemed very forward, expressing how glad he should be if such a thing might be effected; for he was not ignorant, he said, what calumny that Action would draw upon the Army and themselves in particular, though they did nothing therein but in obedience to the Parliament. But before we (said he) proceed in so weighty a matter, let us seek God to know his mind in it; hereunto they

they agreed, and *Oliver* began a long-winded Prayer and continued in it till a Messenger, whom he had appointed for that purpose, came rapping at the door, and hastily told them that they need not trouble themselves about the King, for the work was done: which, being unexpected to many of them, did at present astonish them, while *Cromwel* holding up his hands declared to them, that it was not the pleasure of God he should live, and therefore he feared they had done ill to tempt him against his will; or words to that effect.

When the Kings body was removed and coffined, *Cromwel*, to satisfy himself of the full and certain consummation of all his practices against his sacred life, would needs see himself, and upon his return thence he was heard to say, *That if he had not been a King he might have lived longer.*

Other passages there were, which concern this doleful subject, both preceeding and succeeding it; as namely *Oliver's* Conferences with *Hugh Peters* at *Ware*, his feigned Letters out of the *North* to applaud this Fact, and exolling the Justice and Courage of the Army, by whose means it was that the great Cedar of the Forest was fallen, without any noise, and now the time was coming when we should rejoyce under our own Vines and Figtrees—*whence this Criminal had his leaves, and we blood instead of wine.* But of this more than enough.

With much craft and cunning did he now hide his daring ambition: for though it was thought as feasible for him now to have seized the Crown as afterwards, considering that his Usurpation was to be maintained by Arms; yet he, well knowing what a Faction there was in the Army of the *Levelling* prin-

ple;

ple, ventured not to put his oracular Title to a present Tryal, but await more promising opportunities.

In the mean while to quarrel these *Levellers*, and confine the Democratical Regiment or a Free State (so it was now called) to a narrow compass, and to assume the greatest part of the Government to himself, especially the executive power thereof, according as *Ireton* had projected the module soon after *Newmarket-Heath* engagement; a Council of State like the 30. Tyrants of *Athens* was established, which consisted principally of his Creatures, and these were but forerunners of his single Tyranny, like rayes by a burning Glass contracted into one Beam; The word being now given out amongst the Officers of the Army, *That this Nation must have one prime Magistrate or Ruler over them, and that the General hath power to make a Law to bind all the Commons of England.*

These tendencies to Slavery first of all enraged the *Levellers*, who, having promised to themselves a good share of the spoil of the Kingdom, found they were merely deluded, and that all the engagements and agreement, were but so many *Rattles* by which the Army was drawn on to act *Cromwell's* designs; who had on purpose contrived that Council of Adjutors, to engage the mass of the Souldiery in the danger of his Treasonable conspiracy; that knowing themselves in the same predicament with him, they must resolve to stand by him like a wily Fox, who being pursued, will herd himself among the Sheep, and so avoid the dogs: but all these hazards and necessities being passed, the Council of Adjutors was abolished, the Officers now abominating to suffer the Souldiers to sit Check by Jole with them any longer, the Expedition
for

for Ireland absolutely concluded on, without satisfaction of Arrears, the Engagement slighted, and the right of Petitioning, which the Army claimed as Freemen, denyed by their Officers, who put them upon impeaching the 11 Members for that very reason; and because a neer total Defection of the Army followed upon this soon after, the Engine which Cromwell had uied to subvert the Government, being likely to prove his own Ruine,

— (Nec Lex est iustitia ulla

Quam necis artifices arte perire sua)

though the Fates and his Treachery narrowly prevented it; it will be requisite to shew you the sense of the Army, upon the present State of the Usurpation in this following Petition.

To his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, and
his Council of Officers.

May it please your Excellency and your Council of Officers.

WE have lately made our humble Address unto the Peoples Representatives in Parliament, concerning some relief to our selves and the Common-wealth, by way of Petition, the meanest and lowest degree of an Englishman's Freedom that we know of; and yet the same (to our astonishment) hath been so distasteful and imbittered distasteful to our Superior Officers (in this Council convening) against us, as we perceive, and that even unto death. We therefore being willing to avoid all occasion of offence and division, and to clear our selves of all imputations thereof, that in Justice and reason may be

convinc-

convinced against us, desire, that you would be pleased to consider, that we are English Souldiers, engaged for the Freedoms of England; and not Outlandish Mercenaries, to butcher the People for Pay, and serve the pernicious ends of ambition and will in any person under Heaven. That we do not imagine our selves absolved from the solemn Engagement at New-market-Heath, but to be still obliged before God and the whole World to pursue the just ends thereof; and you may remember the many Promises and Declarations to the People upon that account, which like the Blood of Abel cries for Justice upon the perfidious infringers and perverters thereof in this Army. You may further remember that it hath been a Principle by you asserted and avowed; that our being Souldiers hath not deprived us of our Right as commoners; and to Petition the People in Parliament, we do account in the number of our Birthrights; and you may remember that in the time of the Domination of the eleven Members, you complained against their then endeavour to suppress the Liberty of the Souldiers to Petition, as an insufferable infringement of the right of the Army and People: and we hope you did not then condemn it in them, to justify it in your selves: when the Power was theirs, it was then condemned; but now it is yours, how comes it to be justified? In the Point of Petitioning we expected your Encouragement, and not to have manacles and fetters laid upon it: It is not the bare name or shadow thereof will satisfie us, while we are galled of the essence of it. It is a perfect freedom which we desire, not therein to be subjected under Gradual Negative Voyces of a Captain, a Colonel, your Excellency, or your Council: to pass the Test from one Negative voyce to another for its approvement, we account as

the most venacious Labyrinth of Straddling that in this point can be devised, worse than all oppositions and infringements of the 11. Members; we had rather that in plain terms you would deny us our right of Petitioning, and pronounce and proclaim us absolute Slaves and Vassals to our Officers, than secretly to rob us of the right it self. God hath in some measure opened our eyes, that we can see and perceive; and we desire plain dealing, and not to be met half way with smooth expedients, and Mediums facing both waies, with specious and fair pretences, to overtake our sudden apprehensions, and unawares steal upon us, and so be defeated, as too often we have been, to the woe and misery of the People, and of us: but The Burnt Child dreads the Fire.

Further we desire you to consider, That the strength, the honour and being of the Officer, yea and of this Council (under God) doth consist in the arm of the Soldier. Is it not the Soldier that endureth the heat and burthen of the day, and performeth that work whereof the Officer beareth the glory and name? For what is it the Officer can do without the Soldier? If nothing, why are they ashamed to deny us our right to Petition.

We have long waited in silence, even while we perceived any hopes of any real redress from them. But now finding the Military power in an absolute usurpation of the Civil Jurisdiction; and in the place of the Magistrate exercising that Authority, by which the Sword of war is incroached into the self same hands under one Military head, we disclaim and abhor it, as not having any hand or assent therein at all. And we find a strange and unexpected constitution of a Council of State, such as neither we nor our forefathers.

there were ever acquainted with, intrusted with little less than an unlimited power, and with the whole force both of Sea and Land, in which are combined the most pernicious interests of all Tyrannies. And which hath already swallowed up half our Parliament, and we fear to be an expedient to cut off our Parliaments for ever: for if this Council of State survive the Parliament, how shall we obtain a new Representative? If the Parliament sit but till a new one be ready to take their places, farewell Parliaments, farewell Freedoms.

Further, we find the just and legal way of trial, by twelve men of the Neighbourhood in criminal cases; utterly subverted in this new constitution of an High Court; a President for ought we know to frame all the Courts of England by, and to which our selves may be as well subjected as our enemies. And considering not one oppression is removed, not one vexation in the Law abated, nor one punctilio of freedom restored, or any fair hopes at all appearing, but oppression heaped upon the back of oppression, double cruelty upon cruelty: we therefore from those many considerations betook our selves as Englishmen to make our Addresses unto the Parliament, as the proper refuge and Authority of the people for our and their Addresses, in which by birth we challenge a right, as also by the price and purchase of our hazard and blood; and our Civil Rights we cannot yield up, we shall first rather yield up our lives.

And this after the weak measure of our understandings, we judge we have given a rational and full account of the occasion and reason of our Petitionings; and we hope satisfactory to your Excellency and this Council, humbly praying that you will make a charitable and fair construction thereof,

And

And we further desire, that you will take special notice of the serious Apprehensions of a part of the People in behalf of the Common-wealth, presented to the House by Lieut Col. John Lilburn, and divers other Citizens of London, and the Borough of Southwark Feb. 26. now published in Print. To the which with due thankfulness to those our faithful friends the promoters and presenters thereof, we do freely & cheerfully concur, so stand or fall in the just prosecution thereof as the most absolute Medium to our peace and freedom that hath been produced, and we hope it will produce an happy effect upon this Council, to prevent the otherwise inevitable dissolution and division that will ensue upon us all, which to prevent shall be the faithful endeavours of

Sir,
Your Excellencies most humble Servants and Souldiers.
Robert Ward. Simon Grant. William Sumner.
Thomas Watson. George Jolles.

These Petitioners being seized, were tryed at a Council of War, but (for fear of too much exasperating the Army) were only sentenc'd in this manner, Call. Baxter being then President, who delivered judgment in these sententious learned words.

Gentlemen for so I think I may without offence call you, for as yet you are Souldiers; but truly you are not long to continue so: For you are guilty of high crimes, as your Letter hereby you owned doth manifest, being Scandalous as to the Parliament, Council of State, High Court of Justice, and tending to breed a mutiny in the Army; for which you have in a high measure deserved death; but through the mercy of the Court that is waved, and truly they have waved the Sentence again and again, and now they are come as low as possibly they can: and it being late I shall declare unto you your several Sentences, which are as followeth.

You

You shall ride with your faces towards the horse
Tails before the heads of your several Regiments,
with your faults written upon your Breasts, and your
Swords be broken over your heads, and so cashiered
the Army, as not worthy to ride therein, and a Pro-
clamation to be made, that none shall receive you into
any Troop, Company, or Garrison. And this I would
have you look upon as a great mercy of the Court.

Which sentence was accordingly executed upon
them, in the *Great Palace Yard at Westminster*,
March 6. to the exasperation of the Army.

Soon after all the Army, quartering near *London*,
rendezvouzed at *Ware*; where several Regiments,
among whom was *Cromwel's* of Horse, (in pursu-
ance of the same Petition, and to be known by them-
selves) wore white in their hats: *Oliver* had intimati-
on of it, and thereupon he appointed two Regiments
of Horse from further quarters who were ignorant
of this Combination to appear there likewise. Being
all drawn up in *Battalia*, *Cromwel* with an angry and
down look rides round, and of a sudden Commands
one of those two Regiments to encompass a Regi-
ment of Foot, which being done he commanded
four men by their names out of the body, and com-
mitted them with his own hands to the Marshal, and
immediately called a Council of War, (while the rest
of their Partakers slunk their White Colours into
their Pockets, and trembled at this boldness of *Crom-
wel*) and tryed and condemned them: but by the favour
of the Court they were to cast Lots for their Lives,
two only to dye; by which means the two Guilty
persons, and whom *Cromwel* chiefly aimed at, and lusty
Fellows also, escaped, but the two other sneaking
ignorant Fellows were presently shot to death, upon

a green Bank by the other two, in the Face of the Army. But yet could not this humour be purged out of the Army, though another Leveller bled for it, one *Lockyer* a Trooper, who for promoting the engagement and agreement was shot to death at *St. Paul's* Church-yard, and was attended to his Grave like a General Officer, a thousand people of the *Lilburnian* Faction following his Hearse, all of them wearing Black and Sea-green Ribbons; Colours that denoted a Storm was coming, the whole Army being now generally leavened with the same principle, and furiously enraged at this Butchery of their Fellow-Souldiers, being avowedly egged on by the said *Lilburn*, and secretly encouraged by the Royal party, who promised them their assistance in case they should need it.

And it was seen when too late by the Souldiers (the Instruments of that Tyranny) that they had borrowed their Libertinism at a dear rate, the price of their Lives; like *Gratanders* they should domineer for a while, but then become *Victims* to their short-sighted Murders; while the Revenges of their Rebellion followed their endeavours after those vain glorious shadows of their own casting.

The first formidable eruption of it was at *Salisbury*, where *Col. Scroops* Regiment of Horse laid aside their Officers, and with their Colours marched thence, in order to a conjunction with *Harrisons*, *Irons*, and *Skippons* Regiments, who had confederated (by means of those Adjutors) in the same design: which affair admitting no delay, *Haifax* and *Cromwel* with his own Regiment advanced to them to *Bagshot*, and so to *Alton*, where they had notice

that

that they were marched to *Abington*, (whither after a tedious march of forty miles in one day) the General came; and *Cromwel* fell presently to work with his old arts of Treachery; for *Harrison's* Regiment was hasting to the Conjunction.

His first fineness in order to their reducing was the offer of Treaty, wherein satisfaction might be mutually given, and that done, that neither party should come within Ten miles one of another; whereupon the Levellers marched to *Barford*, and being opposed at a Pass called *Newbridg* over the River, to avoid any quarrel, and hoping the Souldiery there would no doubt joyn with them upon the Treaty, passed a mile lower, and arriving at the Town, relied so much upon the Generals and *Cromwel's* engagements, that most of them had put their Horses to graze, leaving a *Corps de guard*, of some 60 men, the whole party making in all 900. consisting of 12. entire Troops, reputed the best in the Army, and whose defeat would have cost many mens lives, if the Army would have stood against them. But to save that difficulty, while those secure Troops were resting themselves, and their Horses put into the adjoining Meadows, about 12. a Clock at night *Coll. Reynolds* fell into their quarters, having notice from some Traytors within of their posture, and presently mastered the Guard, nor dreaming of such a *Camisado*, or suspecting of an Enemy, and seized most of the other, then tipling or asleep. Here were taken near 900 Horse, and 400 Prisoners, whereof three only were Executed, one *Thompson* and two more, who dyed very resolutely, *Cornet Den*, expressing his grief and sorrow, was reprieved at the instant of Execution, which their fellows beheld from the

Leads of the Church, and were saluted with a Message of Decimation; but that *Cromwel* might ingratiate with the Army, for his sake, and at his instance they were all pardoned, and sent home to their own houses. The great Chieftain of them, being pursued as he was marching towards the party, took into *Willingborough-wood*, where courageously defending himself, he was killed by Carbine shot, refusing to take quarter at such perfidious peoples hands. This Hurly Burly being over, and ended like a flash, the General came to *Oxford*, where he was highly treated, and he and *Oliver* made Doctors of the Civil Law.

This proved the utter Suppression of that faction, and rendred the Army entirely at his command, without any farther dispute of their Leading; so that they presently submitted to the Lot which Regiments should be sent to *Ireland* (then almost reduced to the Kings obedience by the Marquis of *Ormond*) which was decreed it, viz. 11. Regiments, *Iretons, Scroops, Hortons*, and *Lamberts*. Of Horse, One of Dragoons under Coll. *Abbot*. Of Foot, *Eures, Cooks, Hewsons*, and *Deans*. And three new ones, viz. *Cromwells, Venables*, and *Phayrs*.

Cromwel was ordained Commander in Chief, and tituladood with the Style of Lord Governor of *Ireland*; while *Fairfax* was left here to attend the Parliament, and pass away his time in the Dotages of his Success, giving him the Honour of subduing that Realm, and preparing it to his usurpation.

He, with a very potent Army was now landed at *Dublin*. Whereupon a strong Garrison of 2500. Foot and 300 Horse, resolved men under the charge of Sir *Arthur Aston*, was put into *Drogheda*, the nearest

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rest Garrison to the late defeat of the Marquis of Ormond; which *Cromwel* (having refreshed his Army a while at *Dublin*) came to besiege. The Town was stormed resolutely thrice, and as well defended; Sir *Arthur Aston* being so confident, that he advised the Lord Lieutenant not to precipitate any thing, for he should hold them play a while; but in the third assault Colonel *Wall* being unfortunately killed, his dismayed Souldiers listened to the offer of quarter before they had need of it, and admitted them upon those terms. *Cromwel* having notice that the Flower of the *Irish* Army was in his hands, gave order to put all in Arms to the Sword, where were killed Sir *Arthur Aston*, Sir *Edmund Varney*, Coll. *Warren*, Coll. *Dun*, *Finglass*, *Tempest*, &c. with 5000 Soldiers the best in that Kingdome.

He came next before *Wexford*, which having refused to accept of a Garrison, now the Enemy was under their Walls, was content to admit of 500 men under the command of Sir *Edmund Butler*, and the Lord Lieutenant came also in sight of the Town; before whose face *Stafford* the Governour of the Castle basely betrayed it to *Cromwel*, together with the Town who there treacherously murdered 2000 more.

Most abominably and barbarously cruel he was in this place; for near 200 of the better sort, and the beautifullest Women of the City, having (upon the Town being entered) fled to the Cross, and with the command of their charming eyes, and those melting tears, prevailed upon the Souldiers for quarter, now at his coming thither, and after a laughing jeering enquiry what they did there, and other mocking insultations, were commanded to be knock'd on the head;

which those that promised them life nobly refusing, He commanded another Regiment to encompass them, and there most horribly massacred them all.

Ross was the next place whither a Garrison was sent under the command of *Luke Taaff*, with order (the Town not being tenable) to render upon Conditions, which accordingly (a breach being made) they did; and marched away with their Arms. His next attempt was upon *Duncannon*, but the noble *Wogan* and the *English* Cavaliers gave him a foyle; hence he retreated to *Ross*, where he made a floating-bridg, that so, having a passage to the other side, he might compel *Ormond* either to divide his Army to observe his motions, or otherwise to get a passage into *Munster*, where he held intelligence with the several places that would then Revolt; and accordingly for all my Lord *Taaff* was sent thither before hand to secure them, yet *Tonghal*, *Corke*, and all the *English* Towns of *Munster* openly Revolted, and many of my Lord *Inchiqueens* men, allured by Money and Commands in *Cromwel's* Army, ran over to the Enemy; and his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant having lost the opportunity of Fighting *Cromwel*, by his dislodging from *Duncannon* by night when the *Irish* were cheerful and earnest to engage, was never after in a condition fit to venture a Battel. He therefore passes over this Bridg and so into the County of *Kilkenny* facing his enemy and moving up and down after him, while his Lieut. *G. Jones* with parties took in the Castles, and *Carrick* was wretchedly betrayed to him by *Martin*, that commanded there; whence *Cromwel* passes his Army into *Munster*, and takes several Castles by the appearance only of his Horse: only at *Kilteran* he received a repulse,

but

but *Ballisannon* was sold to him; *Kilteeny* was taken next, after a stout defence made, the Townsmen complying contrary to the Souldiers knowledg, who were driven into the Castle and there conditioned. The next enterprize he went in hand with was *Cramwel*, kept by Major General *Hugh Neal*, who behaved himself so well, that the Enemy having lost 2500 men before it had gone away without it, had it not been that the Garrison wanted powder, so that they got over the River to *Waterford* in the night, leaving the Townsmen to make conditions for themselves, which the Enemy not knowing the Souldiers were gone readily granted. It is very observable here, that though against the advice of the Council of War he had resolved on this Storm; upon the Defeat, he ascribed it wholly to their confidence in the Arm of Flesh and presently enjoined his State *Crambe* of a *Fest* throughout the Army. Soon after Coll. *Rich* received a brush from my Lord *Broughil* in the County of *Cork* where the Bishop of *Ross* being taken was hanged.

I have thus briefly discoursed of the war in *Ireland*, that I might hasten to the grand event, and from the Camp (after another expedition) conduct him to the Palace, the main consequence of his life, which rendered all his other actions so notable and conspicuous.

The *Irish War* thus in a manner ended, and the *Scotch War* ready to Commence, the Committee of Estates there, having concluded with the King at *Breda* and he upon his Voyage to that Kingdom, where all correspondence with the *English* was by Proclamation forbidden, and all manner of Provision stopp'd from carrying into *England*, though the *Jacobites* at *Westminster* had used all Artifices to keep the

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the Scots from closing with him, who were so far disposed thereto, that they had barbarously murdered the Great Marquis of *Montross*, a Hero far surpassing *Oliver* in Conduct, and who was uncimely and unfortunately taken away from the rescue of his Country; *Cromwel* (like a Fury) was ready at hand to take a revenge of that Fact. For having been secretly called for over from *Ireland*, to amuse all parties, (both the *Irish* who trembled at his presence, and made no considerable resistance against him and his Fortune; and the General himself at home, who expected not such his sudden rivalship to his command, which gave him no time for mature consideration of the design; the *Scots*, who though alarmed by frequent rumours of an *English* Invasion, yet were not so forward in their Levies, as having assurance of *Fairfax's* dissatisfaction) he was now waisted over into *England*, preventing the Letters he had sent to the States to know their express pleasure for his departing that Kingdom.

On the beginning of *June* he returned by the way of *Bristol* from *Ireland* to *London*, and was welcomed by *Fairfax* the General, many Members of Parliament and Council of State at *Hounslow-heath*, and more fully complemented at his Lodgings, and in Parliament by the Thanks of the House, and the like significant Address of the Lord Major, &c. of *London*, being looked upon as the only person, to the Eclipse and deminution of the Generals Honor, which we shall presently see him paramount in the same supreme Command.

The World that considered the carriage of this Politick towards his Prince, and with what impetuous violence, and short-living *extempore* Counsels, He

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He had bereaved him of his Life, had wondered that hitherto he had suffered the Command of the Army to rest in *Fairfax's* hand, and had not practised some quicker expedient to remove him; that having finished the work of his Generation (as they canted it with *Essex*) he did not give him a Fig for his labour; but *Cromwel*, who courted his *Minion* of *Providence*, and devoted himself to her care and tuition of his designs, would not rashly precipitate his Ambition without her Augury, but await the Assistance and Concurrence of some promising Revolution, which those many Military cross re-encounters of that turbulent New State did certainly bode. And the *Scotch War*, now evening, the lucky minute was come, and his Brazen Head told him *T I M E I S*; for from hence he dated his Empire and Sultaniship, and the *Æra Olivaria*, choosing to derive his Succession to the Supreme Power, rather from the unperplex'd *Tradition* of the *Sword*, than from the upstart bold Title to, and a forcible *wresting* of the *Scepter*. And yet such Helps and Hints he way-laid to his Throne, that it was rumoured soon after abroad, that he was descended of the *British* Princes, and near allied to *Henry* the Seventh, the glory of that race. But to proceed,

This Command of course was devolved upon my Lord *Fairfax*, and he desired to accept it, but he being inscrupled by some of the *Presbyterian* Ministers (who were highly incensed at this war) as it was cunningly foreseen by *Oliver* and his Party, (who never endeavoured his satisfaction) and pretending a reluctance from the Obligations of the National Covenant to engage against their Brethren, totally declined it, transferring the long expected Military Supremacy, by a Vote of the Parliament to *Cromwel*,
who

who very Zealously accepted the Charge, and with all readines^s prepared for the expedition; which made the second Trophy or Garland of those strangely and wonderfully prosperous *Free-States of England*.

On the 12. of *June* it had been resolved that the Army should advance Northward, but it was towards the end of *July* before they arrived there; for on the 21. of that Month *Cromwel* quartered at *Berwick*, from whence he sent a Letter and Declaration to the Committee of Estates, fraught with hypocritical canting expressions, which the said Committee suppressed, returning answer, that they would reply to it by Messengers of their own; and lest any of their people should be deluded by the like fair words, they made it Treason for any person to correspond with the *English*. and sell a driving all their Cattle and Provision in the parts next adjacent to them, beyond *Edinburgh*.

Cromwel's Army was now reckoned 16000 effective, with which he came first to *Mordington*, his Head-quarters *July* the 25. thence to *Haddington*, within 12. miles of *Edinburgh*, on the Hills whereabouts the *Scots* had encamped themselves, declining to engage till all their additional Forces were come out of the *High-lands*. On the 25 of *July* the *English* advanced, and attempted one of the said Hills, where a small party of the *Scots* were, and beat them presently off; when a party of *Scotch* Horse fell in the Rear with such fury and vigour that they wholly disordered it, and with Reserves and Fresh bodies seconded and pursued this advantage; which being perceived by Major General *Lambert* and Col. *Waller*, who had the Rear-guard, they courageously repulsed

repulsed them to their Trenches: in which *Adrian Lambert* had his Horse shot under him, was run through the Arm with a Lance, and taken Prisoner, but was rescued by one *Lieutenant Empson*. This past, and the Army wet and weary in their way to *Muscleborough*; betwixt 3 and 4 in the morning, another party of some 1500 Horse, the flower of the Army, being veterane Blades, under the Command of Coll, *Montgomery* and *Stranghan*, fell with great fury and more exact valour upon them betwixt sleeping and waking, and brought a Terrible fright and dismay upon the whole Army, Charging almost clear through upon the Sands; but returning with their Prisoners, were set upon, by fresh Troops under Coll. *Okey* in good order, and forced to double their speed home to their Camp, having lost an hundred men, (to the same number in the former attempt) and some of their Officers slain and wounded; but came off otherwise with honour enough, giving the Invaders little hopes of so easy a Victory and Conquest as the Fates had decreed to them, and their invincible Fortune.

Several jealousies, animosities, and discontents were now reigning among the *Scots*, more supremely than the Kings Authority; the Kings friends wholly discountenanced and laid by, even *Presbyterians* themselves no way understanding one another, some willing to give the King his Rights without more stipulation and Engagements; others of them thinking they could not sufficiently debase his Authority, and that it should wholly depend on the Kirk; and to that purpose several irreverend *Postulata* were put to him, beyond the Tenour of the Treaty at *Breda*; and in fine that party prevailed so, as that the Army, then on foot, was in effect but very little for the Kings Interest

Interest and Service, but was wholly at the disposal of the rigid Covenanters. This was not unknown to *Cromwel*, who thereupon never ceased Scribbling and Divulging of the *English* Armies good intention to the People of *Scotland*; With whom they have no quarrel, but against a malignant powerful Faction who had brought in the King, to the disturbance of the publick National-peace & Friendship betwixt the two People; & that he was willing by Conference to give & receive satisfaction therein, otherwise to decide the Justice of that cause by Battle. To which when no answer would be returned, he advanced on the 10. of *August* (having recruited his Army by those Provisions that were plentifully brought by Sea, the Fleet Sailing an even pace with him and observing the same signals) on the west-side of *Edinburgh* up to the Line of the *Scotch* Army playing his Canon, which were likewise answered, and Encamped on *Penland-Hills*, little above *Edinburgh-Castle*, intending to March for *Queens-ferry*; but the Passes were so difficult, and other Considerations intervened, that he proceeded no further. Next morning came a Letter to him with a Declaration from the Estates and Kirk by sound of Trumper, Declaring that the quarrel being now stated, and the King ready to consent to their demands, they were resolved to put it to the issue; and that the World may see what that was like to prove, it will be worthy the memory of those Transactions, to particularize them in this short abstract.

Cromwel being thus far advanced into *Scotland*, beyond the most advised Fears of the Parliament of *Scotland* (who had newly welcomed the King at *Sr. Johnstons*) and their Army yet unprepared to fight him, they thought fit to entertain his Time and divert his

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his Haft with a Declaration; wherein most abominably they difowned the King, without fuch and fuch Satisfactions, to the tenor of the moft rigid and undutiful conditions, that the worft of Rebels could have put upon a Prince; which being once confirmed and affented to by him, they would be ready to give Batrel as the quarrel fhould then be ftated, and upon which they might expect a bleffing. But this wife advantaged not the Kirk, but only ferved as a Directory to *Oliver*, where he fhould level his Treasonable projects.

To this *cromwel* takes very good occafion to reply, and help out their Sophiftry with fome more of his own; and to let the *Scots* fee of how near affinity the Kirk and the Congregational way were in this refpect to the King, he permitted, nay, caufed their Declaration to be publickly read to his Army; putting the *Scotch-Remonftrants* upon thefe Dilemma's; *That their professed difowning of Malignants, and receiving and affifting their Head and Chief, in whom all their hope lies, cannot confift in common fense or prudence; reciting (as evidence thereof) the late Popifh affairs in Ireland, and Prince Ruperts roving at Sea. That fuppofe He (the King) fhould give fecrecy of his turning, it muft be fome other way than by a few and feigned formal fubmiffions, for it is his neceffity and his old Complices that counfel him to that Compliance: Nor is it poffible for the Scots (in the way that they are now in) to be able to fecure themfelves or England; and concludes, that upon this quarrel, if they be ready to fight, his Army attends there for that purpofe; and therefore the Scots cannot complain for want of an opportunity.*

These peftilent and alike dangerous Papers, which
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in effect seemed rather an agreement than cause of
quarrel between the Antagonists) were warily con-
sidered by some, even of the Kirk-men who loved
the King, as of sudden and desperate consequence to
his Majesties Person and Government, so highly vi-
lified and dis-regarded; so that a Declaration (to the
liking of the Kirk) was extorted from Him, that there
might no cause of preence remain, either for their
obstinate carriage towards him, or ready compliance
with the Enemy.

Hereupon the *English* Army advanced again; and
though several Bodies of *Scotch* Horse appeared, yet
they presently withdrew upon their approach; which
that it might not be altogether frustrate, *Cromwel* in
sight of them caused a Garrison (called *Redhouse*,
within a mile and a half of *Edinburgh*) to be Storm-
ed, wherein were taken 60 Foot, and the House made
tenable and manned by the *English*: while the *Scots*
(being necessitated for Provisions, and to joyn with
some other Forces from *Fife* and the West) had mar-
ched two miles beyond *Edinburgh*, having a great
Hill on the one side, and the City and a River on the
other, so that it was very hazardous to engage them,
being drawn up in Battalia, the great Guns plying
on both sides. In which posture and attendance the
Scots and *English* stood, and neither changed ground,
till Provisions growing scarce, *Cromwel* retreated to
Penckland hills (*Lambert* having had some discourtse
and conference with *Stranghan*, &c. about the for-
mer equity of their cause, *de lana caprina*) and thence
with some difficulty (by reason of bad weather) to
Muscleborough, for Provant, and thence a few dayes
after to *Dunbar* with intention by shipping or any
other way to get into *England*, being now closely fol-
lowed

lowed by the *Scott* Army in their *Kirk*; who rightly guessing the *English* to be weakened with long Marches and want of victual, made cock-sure of a total victory, which snatching at before it was ripe for them, fearing nothing more than that they would escape them, they saw themselves miserably frustrated, and their despairing Enemy, a most insulting Conquerour.

On *Sunday* at night, the first of *September*, the *English* (making at most not above 12000 men) came to *Dunbar*, whither the *Scots* (keeping close at their Heels) came also, and drew up their whole Army, consisting of between 20. and 24. thousand men, upon a high Hill within a mile of the Town, to the great amazement at first of the *English*, but despair adding Resolution to their courage, they presently drew out in *Battle* in the Cornfield near adjoining, and so stood all night, being encamped upon a Neck of land, whose breadth was not a mile and half from Sea to Sea; so that they were by Land quite cooped up. In confidence therefore of an assured Victory, *David Leslie*, who commanded this *Kirk* Army in chief, began to advance as early as the Sun next morning, and drew down the Hill fixing at the foot thereof, and about four a clock in the afternoon brought down his Train, there being a great Ditch between both the Armies. That night the *English* (by Command) placed themselves close to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces likewise in every Regiment, that they might be in a readiness in case the Enemy should attempt any thing upon them, who were vainly expecting terms of a rendition, boasting that they had them in a worse pound, than the King had the *Earl of Essex* at *Lisfild* in *Cornwall*.

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The Ministers especially, having their voices in the Council of war held by this Kirk Army, most earnestly urged the Engagement and fight (against those that were of opinion to let the *English* escape, and not venture the fortune of War, upon an Enemy made desperate: of which there were so many sad examples) saying that God had delivered *Agag* meaning *Cromwell* into their power, and if they let him go, would require him at their hands.

On *Tuesday* morning at four of the Clock, a Brigade of the *English* Army drew down to possess themselves of a Pass upon the Road, between *Edinburgh* and *Berwick*, which being had, they might with the more ease and advantage, make their way home, and in order thereto pass over to the Enemy, to fall upon them. This Brigade consisted of three Regiments of Horse of *M. G. Lamberts*, *Commiss. Gen. Waleys*, and *Coll. Lilburns*, and two of Foot, one whereof was *Prides*. This gave the *Scots* a great Alarm, and a sore dispute happened about the Pass, which lasted above an hour, the great Guns playing in the mean time against both the bodies. At length that stout Bridge gained and possessed the Pass, much gallantry and bravery being shewed on both sides. This Pass lay at *Copperspath* in the *English* way homewards, to impede which, they had drawn off their best Horse upon the right Wing to receive the *English*, whose word was the *Lord of Hosts*, theirs *The Covenant*.

The Enemy charged hereupon with their *Lancers*, so that the Horse gave way a little, but immediately rallied, and the foot advancing to second them, the *Scots* were charged so home, that they put them presently to the rout, it being about six a Clock in the morning,

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morning, the left wing of Horse without striking one stroke, following the same way. The Foot seeing this rout and flight of the Horse, and not able in any order by reason thereof to engage, were all of a sudden so confused and confounded; that without any resistance or offer of Engagement they threw down their Arms and fled, giving the *English* the full pursuit of them above 8 mile beyond *Haddington*, only one stout Regiment of *Highlanders*, who began the fight, maintained it most bravely and fearlessly after the ruine and rout of their Army till scarce 20 of them were left, some of them fighting and making use of their Swords as they lay wounded upon the ground, to the lessening the ignominy of that defeat by their singular and conspicuous valor, which hath reared it self and honourable monument, amidst the inglorious dust of so many Cowards. The number of the slain were 4000. 9000 Prisoners, many, whereof were desperately wounded; and 10000 Arms, all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage: Prisoners of Note were Sir *James Lumsdale*, Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Libberton* employed by the States to the King lately, and died of his wounds presently after the fight at *Dunbar*, Adjutant General *Bickerton*, Scout-master *Camphel*, Sir *William Douglas*, Lord *Cranston*, and Coll. *Gurden*; 12. Lieutenant Colonels, 6 Majors, 42 Captains, 75 Lieutenants, 17 Cornets, 2 Quarter-masters, 110 Ensigns, Foot and Horse Coldurs 200, 27 Guns, some Braise, Iron and Leather, with the losse of not above 300 *English*, and one Major *Rookistly* who dyed after of his wounds; there was likewise taken the Purse to the great Seal of *Scotland*, which was presently sent up to *London*; and the Colours with those taken before

at *Presben*, ordered forthwith to be hung up in *Westminster-hall*; The full Contents of all which was signified in a Letter from the General in his usual strain of devour Zeal, tending very much to strengthen the *Independent* against the *Presbyterian* at home, and the advancement of a pretended Common-wealth to the Imitation of the rest of the world; the latter part thereof for the severer Aspect it had towards the Ministry in favour of *Anabaptists*, with which the Army swarmed, I have here inserted. —

The Ministers of Scotland have hindered the passage of those things (meaning his affection to the good people of Scotland): to those to whom ye intended them, and now we see that not only the deceived people, but some of the Ministers (three or four) are fallen in the fight. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of those who taking into their hands the instrument of a foolish Shepherd, to meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the Kingdom of Christ, (which is neither it, nor if it were it, would such be found effectual to that end) and neglect, or trust not to the word of God, the sword of the Spirit, which is alone able and powerful to that end, and when trusted to, will be found effectually able, &c. this is Humbly offered for their sakes (who have lately turned too much aside) that they might return again to Preach Jesus Christ; &c. and then no doubt they will deserve and find your protection and encouragement. Which humble offer was to command a strict Inquisition upon them, as those most probable to obstruct the new module of his future greatness.

The glory of this field, though it were by his own party ascribed to his valour, yet it laid a great blemish

mish on his Conduct, and indeed the rescue of his honour was principally to be referred to *G. Monk*, whose company he had obliged in this expedition, (being very understanding in the choice, and as subtle in the shaking off his Friends and Familiars.) He had newly had a Regiment conferred on him, made up of recruits and other imperfect Companies, and did now at the Generals request draw and design the fight, and embattle the Army, and seconded that deliberate speculation with forwardest of action, for which indeed most of the Officers were very praiseworthy. After the fight *Cromwel* used some catching courtesies to the wounded Souldiers, and the feebler sort of Prisoners (it being his usual Injunction to his Chyrurgions, to have as much care of the Enemies sick, as of his own, to oblige their fair report of his victorious Generosity) but the poor *High-landers*, and such like, paid dear for that partial kindness shewed their Country-men, as many as with difficulty escaped Famine being sold for slaves to the *American Islands*.

On the fourteenth of *September*, General *Cromwel* marched out of *Edenburgh* with 7 daies provision, for the *Scots* had not left any manner of subsistence betwixt that and *Sterling*, and on the 15. reached beyond *Linlithgow*, but through bad weather was constrained to retreat thither that night for shelter, the 16. to *Falkirk* within a mile of *Sterling*, from whence fresh Letters of the old strain were sent into that City, but the Trumpeter was not suffered to enter; whereupon order was given for a storm, but upon better thoughts of the danger, forbore; so that on the 19. of *Sept.* they returned to *Linlithgow*, (whither came General *Dum* to him

from Shipboard, being newly arrived at *Leith*, in the *Speaker Frigate*) and fortified the Town; being the road way betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*, and a sufficient Garrison was left to maintain it, and on the 22. the *English* returned to *Edinburgh*, where Col. *Whalley* had offered the Ministers (fled to the Castle) leave to come out and Preach in their several Parishes, but they refused: Another Cajole to the Kirk.

Cromwel encamping and traversing hereabouts with his Army, but not being able to effect any thing against the main Army of the Kings that lay on *Sterling-side*, resolved to be doing with a Party that then lay in the West of *Scotland*, under the Command of the Colonels *Ker* and *Straughan*, with whom *Cromwel* had maintained an open intercourse, and had proffered them a Cessation; driving at this, to take them off and subdivide the Nation in several parties. And the effect of his Papers, taxing the *Scots* with the admission of the King upon the old Malignant score, did operate as he projected; for thereupon out comes a Declaration or Remonstrance from these Western fellows, full of sawcy and treasonable language, which accordingly was voted both by the Commissioners of the Kirk, and the Committee of Estates, to be scandalous and seditious, Sir *James Stuart*, and Sir *John Chiesly*, and one Mr. *Leviston* (who seemed to countenance it) were strictly watched, and *Straughan* taken and made Prisoner in *Dunbarton*, and after in *Cathenes-Castle*, whence he escaped and came over to the *English* at *Edinburgh*; but 'twas more the sacred hunger of Gold, than zeal for Religion, made him first betray his King, and his Country after, and we shall see all *Cromwel's* Proselytes

felytes of that Nation, both *Dundas*, *Warreston*, and *Giffan* to love nothing so much as the Mammon of *Presbytery*.

Stranghan thus removed, Major Gen. *Lambert* was sent to prevail with *Ker*, either by blows or words, the latter being thought as feasible as the former; and accordingly on the last of *November*, having difficultly found, and passed a Ford over *Hambleton River*, *Ker* got notice of it, and resolutely fell into the Major Generals Quarters at a Town of that name; but the Horse being in a readiness to receive him, he lost 100. Men, had his right hand almost cut off, and was taken Prisoner, and the rest of his party, being five Regiments of Horse, two whereof were the Earl of *Cassells*, and Lord *Kirconbrights*, pursued as far as *Ayre*, where Commissary General *Whalley* was now left to command in chief in those Western parts: *Cromwel* had marched with his Army this way as far as *Glasgow*, in *October*, but understanding or dreading the Enemy would come and relieve *Edinburgh Castle* with Provisions, and another Governour (being in Treaty with the present for a summe of money) he forthwith retired, having there took and Garrisoned two Houses, while Coll. *Whalley* took in *Dalkeith*, and another nest of *Moss-Troopers*, yet his coming thither hindered Major Gen. *Montgomery* from marching into those parts, to reduce *Ker* likewise to his obedience to the King.

Edinburgh-Castle had been besieged some Months and upwards, with little loss on either side, save that the great Guns from the Castle did some mischief in *Edinburgh streets*, and one Capt. *Hamilton* was shot in the head with a Musquet, as he was viewing the Castle, and the Morter-pieces made resem-

blance of great terrour and annoyance to the besieged; a Mine was likewise carried on some 60. foot, the Stone being cut all the way; but then they could proceed no further, being come to the Rock whereon the Castle stands: Nevertheless the *Derbyshire* Miners (being 12. in number) did what they could to proceed, the enemy throwing Pitch and Flax, and other combustible stuff into the Works. At last the personated Hostility came to a period, and *Dundas* the old *Levens* Son in Law, pretending want of Water, offered a Parley, and having premised a colourable request of ten daies time, to send to the Committee of Estates, by whom he said he was intrusted, which he knew was to be denyed; after several missives betwixt *Cromwel* and him, concluded the rendition of that most important place to the Kings Service, in these Articles agreed on, betwixt Major *Abernethy Dundafferinan*, and Capt. *Henderson* on one side, and Coll. *Monck*, and L. Coll. *White* on the other, (it was always before called the *Maiden*, it may henceforth be called the *Prostitute-Castle*) the Articles were as follow.

That the Castle should be surrendered to his Excellency Oliver Cromwel, with all the Ordinances, Arms, Magazine, and Furniture of War thereunto belonging, on Tuesday the 24. of December. 2. *That the Governour, Officers, and Souldiers, should march with Drums beating, &c. in military posture, to such place as they shall appoint.* 3. *The publique moveables, private writs and evidences to be removed to Sterling.* 4. *That Proclamation should be made for all that had goods in the Castle, to come or send, to owne and receive them.* 5. *All sick Officers and Souldiers, as well such as hurt (in reputation) to have liberty to stay in*
Edinburgh

Edinburgh, and the English to provide Horses and Wagons for the Governour and other Officers, and Hostages to be given on the Scots part for performance.

There were found in it Five French Cannon, nine Dutch half Cannon, two Culverings, two demy Culverings, two Minions, two Falcons, twenty eight Brass Drakes called Monkeys, two Petards, betwixt seven and eight thousand Arms, neer 80 Barrels of Powder, and a like store of Cannon shot: Col. Fenwick, was presently upon the surrender, made Governour of this and Litch; Sir Arthur Hasterigge, and Mr. Scot were present at the Rendition thereof, and then departed, their work being done; which that it may appear for a piece of the vilest treachery any Scot ever committed (though Cromwel ascribes it in his Letter to the Speaker, to the alone wisdom of God beyond all humane power and accomplishment) take this account from the Lovers themselves of this Treason at Edinburgh. *The greatest want they had was of Beer, but as for Oatmeal, Butter, Fresh-water, and Salt meat, they had enough, the Master Gunner told me, that when our Guns were a drawing to the Batteries, he had so placed his Pieces, that ours could not possibly have been planted without great loss, but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden by the Governour upon pain of Death. His man Abernethy went often out of the Castle, upon pretence of getting Intelligence, (but it was to hold it with Cromwel) sure it is, that Dundals and he and some others were a little wiser, and went not over the water as they had made Conditions, some of those that did being imprisoned (the Court and Camp being sadly affected with this loss); the Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Stuart is in Town, but keeps private, lest the Wives in the Street*

should abuse him as they did Straughan and Ker at their coming hither; the Lord Warrestone who came (as he pretended) for the Records, is not yet returned, but staves in Town, for he cares not to go back: He and the rest of that Remonstrant Tribe are summoned to come to Parliament, Col. Dundass, Straughan, and Capt. Giffan, with Abernethy, Swinton, and Andrews, were else to be excommunicated and declared Traitors, which was done Jan, 14 Mr. James Guthry, and the Earl of Lothian, and Gen. Holborn, were generally suspected, with Sir John Chiesly, who are every day expected in our quarters; Rutherford, and Gillespy are likewise Dissenters from the present manage of Affairs. Ker saith, his wound on his right hand is Gods justice against him, for lifting it up against us in such a cause as he maintained. And so I will conclude all those treasonable practices, and fomented divisions of that Nation against their common interest by this Master of all Treacherous Arts.

Cromwel was again very earnest and intent upon making or finding a way by Sterling, and therefore on the 8. of February he marched thither again, having been informed of some Fords thereabouts where he might pass his Army, or at least impede their raising new Forces, and way-lay their marching into England, which was given out as the grand design, a Force being left on that side the Water, sufficient to sustain any Impression of the English; and to that expedition Duke Hamilton, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Cleveland, Wentworth, Wilmot, and C. Massy who had a noble and full Regiment, and was to be Major General, with the noble and most Loyal Capt. Turner and Col. Graves were designed. Cromwel as was said, to this purpose, in very tempestuous weather reached his

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his intended passage, but found the approaches to them so boggy and unpassable, that in the same stress of weather, his Army halfspoiled with cold, and other discommodities, he was forced to retire again as he had done twice before, (having only alarm'd the Scots, and put them into a sudden posture of defence) to *Glasgow*, and to await the time of his Boats Arrival and a happier season of the year.

This was the Seat of Rebellion in that Kingdom, and very fit for his Head Quarters, and University also; which remembers me that *Cromwel* a little while before was chosen Chancellor of *Oxford*; and honored hereabouts with the publick Seal thereof on purpose to stave off the rapinous sacrilegious hands of the Parliam. who were a hammering upon an Act for the Sale of Colledge-Lands, to carry on their Wars; and *Crom*, did (as was well projected) undertake their preservation, and did express some angry resentment at the Parliament for this Barbarity, laying his hand as usual upon his Sword; moreover he did promise to defend and maintain them against all such base and wicked Attempts by whomsoever, and that not without a menace to the Authority should design it, against whom he was very ready and willing to provide himself of Crimes, Accusations, and such notorious and invidious Complaints: besides that it made the University a sure friend to him, which was as considerable as half the Kingdom. And this was a borrowed Policy practiced by all the disputed rights and Titles to the Crown. There was this remarkable, that the Delegates of the University declared not their main design till they had given him his Oath as Chancellor, which was thought of little security, but only that the solemnity of it might the better

ter mind him to whom he had given it. Hence after some debates and publick disputes with the Ministers viz *Gillespy, Rutherford, &c.* of *Glasgow* aforesaid, concerning the lawfulness of this Invasion, which he performed (as he said) in much weakness of (both Argument and) body, seeing there was no drawing the Scot out that way to fight, which way they intended for an undisturbed March, marched back to *Edinburgh* by the beginning of *May* (and in his way burned down the Lady *Kilfisher* house, for holding Intelligence with the King.) having notice of the Arrival of his Boats at *Leith*, for the transportation of his Army into *Fife*, which was the last remedy; the failure of Victuals in the Scotch Camp, which therefore they should be forced to abandon and march, proving a meet delusion.

Cromwel being at *Edinburgh*, having notice how the King lay encamped at *Sterling*, *Lashly's* Foot quartering on the Southside, and *Middleton* on the North-side of the Park, encompassed with a stone Wall; and that abundance of Provision was brought in daily, supposing they would march; drew all his remaining forces out of the West with as much care and conduct as could be, and encamped likewise in the Fields by *Edinburgh* in a readiness for them, whether to march or fight: But in the mean time, he was taken very ill of his Ague; so that *Dr. Wright*, and *Dr. Bass*, two eminent Physicians, were sent down to attend his Cure, and many blyth and anxious discourses were made concerning his death, as either party wished, for he was brought very low; but being recovered to some degree of health by these Gentlemen, it was presently sounded like a Proclamation; and I have therefore thought fit to transcribe

a piece of the Letter, that the world may see what queer Hypocrites his Attendants, like himself and his Times, were by the pious nonsense and most blasphemous flattery of this Apocrypha Epistle. If I knew the Secretary or Inditer, I would record him for his Pen,———*Truly Sir, his Life and health are exceeding precious, and I account it every day a greater mercy than other that we have his Life, observing that every dispensation of God draws him nearer to himself, and makes him more heavenly and holy, and by consequence more useful for his Generation, in the management of that power, which God hath committed to him, &c.*

This Occasion of his sickness minds me of one passage of his *Life*; wherein was a *Ray* or *Specimen* of his *Humanity*. He had a Servant a *Frenchman*, one *Drury*, that attended him in his Chamber, whom of all his Retainers he best loved, and would hardly brook his absence out of his sight, whether for that he could more freely communicate his Privacies to a Forraigner, who was altogether unconcerned in them, and therefore of a greater secrecie and confidence; or for his diligence and care of his Person, set off with national fondnesses, and insinuations: This fellow dying not long after, *Cromwel* did passionately grieve thereat, and for the memory of this his dear Servant, made ample Provisions by a Pension for his Relations, which continued during his *Usurpation*. At last with much ado by the helps of Physick, and the especial constant attendance of those Doctors sent him, and charged with his preservation by the Parliament; *Cromwel* fully revived to theirs (afterwards) as well as the Kingdoms sorrow. The *English Army* in *Scotland* was now in motion for

for grafs, and marched upon their old design of *Sterling* to *Newbridge*, so to *Lithgow*, from whose Castle Battlements, they might espy the Tents of the *Scotch* Army encamped in *Torwood* four miles of this side *Sterling*, (whither his Creature *Warreston* was now summoned by the Commissioners of the Assembly peremptorily by the third of *July*) having cast up a regular and well fortified line with Bulwarks mounted with Guns, and having a River behind them, which they might passe at pleasure; in this posture they awaited the *English*, who coming up and facing them on the third of *July*, in the night following the *Scots* drew up their Cannon, and planted them on the brow of the Hill, and next morning saluted *Cromwel* with 50. great Guns, but with little Execution; which made him quickly draw out of shot, and give over his once begun resolution of attacking them at so much disadvantage. The *English* therefore marched back again, Ma. General *Lambert* being sent from *Glasgow* a week after to view the passes, which he reported by reason of the boggy approaches there, to be very hazardous. Upon their departure from *Lithgow*, to *Glasgow*, the *Scots* removed from *Torwood*, and encamped at *Kilfieb*, a place environed with insuperable defences, having a Bog on one hand, and craggy Mountains on the other; but the *English* Army (having eaten up all at *Glasgow* and those parts, and trod down the Corn standing, that the *Scots* might find no sustenance that way, if they should march) appearing and marching with great noise, on the other side, they imagining the *English* meant to clap in between them and *Sterling*, hastened back again to their old line at *Torwood*, *July*, 13. whither *Cromwel* followed, and to provoke them to an Engagement

gagement, storm'd *Calender-house* in their view; and put all the Defendants except the Governor, to the Sword, and then seeing there was no possibility of fighting with them, but that they were resolved to keep them in play, till Winters scarcity of Horse-meat should make them give over and depart the Kingdom, he encamped himself, awaiting the success of his design by Boat into *Fife*.

While *Cromwell* thus attended the *Scots* at *Torwood*, within a mile and a half of them at *Falkirk*, at length the long expected success of a transportation into *Fife* manifested it self: for Col. *Oberien* with 1400. Foot of his own, and Col. *Daniels* Regiment, with four Troops of Horse of Col. *Lydcots*; having with the loss of a few men gained a place called *North-ferry* on the other side the *Firth*; on the 17. of *July*, had as the time served intrenched themselves; and before the *Scotch* Army then beyond *Sterling*, could reach them with a sufficient force to drive them out, Major G. *Lambert* was passed over to them, it being an Arm of the Sea, and had defeated Sir *John Brown* with 4000. men; the success and great consequence of which, and the said transportation, I will briefly sum up in *Cromwells* Letter.

In pursuance of the providence of God, and that blessing lately given to your Forces in *Fife*, and finding that the Enemy being Masters of the Passes at *Sterling*, could not be gotten out there without hindering his Provisions at *St. Johnstons*, we by general advise thought fit to attempt *Saint Johnstons*, knowing that that would necessitate him to quit his pass; wherefore leaving with Major Gen. *Harrison* about 3000. Horse and Dragoons, besides those which are with Col. Rich,

Rich. Col. Saunders, and Col. Barton, upon the Borders, we marched to St. Johnstons, and lying one day before it, we had it surrendered to us; during which time we had some intelligence of the Enemies marching Southward, though with some contradiction, as if it had not been so; but doubting it might be true, leaving a Garrison in St. Johnstons, and sending L. Gen. Monck with 5, or 6000 men to Sterling to reduce that place, and by it to put your affairs into a good posture in Scotland: We marched with all possible expedition back again, and have passed our Foot and many of our Horse over the Frith this day, resolving to make what speed we can up to the Enemy; who in this desperation and fear and out of inevitable necessity is run to try what he can do this way. I do apprehend that if he goes for England, being some few daies march before us, it will trouble some mens thoughts, and may occasion some inconveniences, of which I hope we are as deeply sensible. and have, and I trust shall be as diligent to prevent as any; and indeed this is our comfort, that in simplicity of heart as to God, we have done to the best of our Judgments, knowing that if some issue were not put to this businisse, it would occasion another Winter: War to the ruine of your Souldiery, for whom the Winter-difficulties of this Country, are too hard, and be under the endles expence of the Treasure of England, in prosecuting this war.

It may be supposed we might have kept the Enemy from this, by interposing between him and England, which truly I believe I might, but how to remove him out of this place without doing what we have done, unlesse we had had a commanding Army on both sides the River of Frith, is not clear to us, or how to answer the inconveniences aforementioned we understand not;

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we prayt heretofore, that seeinge there is a possibility for the Enemy to put you to some trouble, you would with the same courage (grounded upon a confidence in God) wherein you have been supported to the great things in which God hath used you heretofore, improve the best you can: such Forces as you have in readinesse; or may on the sudden be got together to give the Enemy some check, untill we shall be able to reach up to him, which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavour in; and indeed we have this comfortable experiment from the Lord, that this Enemy is heart-smitten by God, and when ever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperateness of this Counsil of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also; when England was much more unsteady than now, and when a much more considerable Army of theirs unfoiled invaded you, and we had but weak force to make resistance at Preston; upon deliberate advice, we chose rather to put our selves between their Army and Scotland, and how God succeeded that is not well to be forgotten.

This is not out of chaice on our part, but by some kind of necessity, and it is to be hoped will have the like issue, together with a hopeful end of your work, in which it's good to wait upon the Lord, upon the earnest of former experiences, and hope of his presence, which only is the Life of your Cause. Major Gen. Harrison, with the Horse and Dragoons under him, and Colonel Rich and the rest in those parts, shall attend the motion of the Enemy, and endeavour the keeping of them together, as also to impede his March, and will be ready to be in conjunction with what Forces he shall yet together for this Service, to whom Orders have been speeded to that purpose, as this enclosed to Major
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*General Harrison will shew. Major General Lambert
to day marched with a very considerable Body of
Horse up towards the Enemies Rear; with the rest of
the Horse and nine Regiments of Foot (most of them
of your old Foot and Horse) I am hasting up and shall,
by the Lords help, use the utmost diligence: I hope
I have left a Commanding Force under Lieutenant
General Monck in Scotland. This account I thought
my duty to speed to you, and rest*

Leith. 4 August
1651.

*Your most humble Servant,
O. Cromwel.*

This shews what sudden troubled apprehensions
He had of this well designed March of the Kings,
and made him repent his obstinacy of Honour in
reducing *St. Johnstons*, by which the King got three
days march of him: but however he excused this
to the Parliament (who were almost in despair, and
terribly affrighted at the News of it) yet they did
highly tax him for his negligence even to suspicion,
and spoke ill words of him, which came to his ears,
and for which he soon after cryed quits with them.

The King departed from *Sterling* the last of *July*,
and came into *England* by the way of *Carlisle*, and
upon his first footing there was Proclaimed rightful
King of *Great Britain*, and did thereupon publish
his Declaration: wherein He offered his free Grace
and Pardon (to be confirmed by an Act thereafter)
to all his Subjects of *England*, of what ever nature
or crime their offences were, excepting *Cromwel*,
Bradshaw, and *Cook*, the more immediate principal
murderers of His Father; and therewith prosecuted
his march, being proclaimed in the same manner
through all the Towns he passed.

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On the 22. of *August*, the Van of the Kings Army entred *Worcester*, some resistance being attempted to be made by some new raised Forces under one Colk. *James*, and by the influence of Baron *Wild*; but the Townsmen saved them the labour of driving them out, and most joyfully welcomed these weary Guests and such to as in 1645, had been extreemly oppressive and intollerably burdensome at the Siege of *Hereford*; but their gladness at the Kings presence, and hope of his Restitution, obliterated all other considerations and remembrances whatsoever. The Mayor and his Brethren at the Kings *Intrado* did Him the customary but most chearful obeysances, tending him the Keys and Mace upon their Knees, and bidding him and his Forces welcome to this his Majesties Ancient and Loyal City, where the same day with great solemnity he was a new proclaimed, and the tired Soldiers most abundantly provided for, being in all *Scotch* and *English* some 13000 who had marched 300. miles outright in three weeks.

In the mean time the Parliament had amassed a numerous Militia in all the Counties of *England*; and glad were the Members that the King stayed for them, for nothing was more dreaded then his continued march to *London*, which place would have soon ridded their fears, upon an approach of the Kings Army but 30. miles further from *Worcester*; but to prevent that, as *Essex* did before at the beginning of the War (whose first efforts took this way) *Cromwel* by long Marches through *New-castle*, *Rippon*, *Ferrybriggs*, *Doncaster*, *Mansfield*, and *Cowenry*, had interposed himself, and joyned with his Army at *Keynton*, where a General Council of all his Officers was held, and a speedy advance to *Worcester* re-

solved on, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* being dispatched to bring up his Forces, then on their way at *Banbury*, the gross of all the Forces amounting to above 50000. effective, Militia and all.

By this time *Cromwel* had surrounded the City of *Worcester* with his spreading Host, in as near a compass as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the Kings Army as yet lying out of the Town a mile in the fields. The first passe endeavoured to be taken, was *Upton-Bridge* on *Fleetwood's* side, which Major Gen. *Lambert* attempted with 500. Horse and Dragoons, who unespied crept upon their Bellies on a piece of Timber they had laid over the River, which the surprizing Assailants after a brisk dispute wrested from Col. *Massey*. The Scots having thus abandoned the place, it was presently posselt by a strong Party of Horse and Foot, in order to the present advance of the rest of the Army.

The Scots now drawn closer to *Worcester* made many Salleys, breaking down 2. or 3. Bridges over the River *Team*, and shewing a well ordered and governed courage; but *Septemb. 3.* that ominous day, he drew out from his own Post and (having given the signal to the whole Army to fall on) began the Fight in this manner.

Cromwel himself in person (about 3 a Clock with his Life-Guard and Col. *Hacker's* Regiment of Horse, with part of his own Regiment, and Col. *Ingholdsby's*, and *Fairfax's* entired) passed over his Bridge of Boats upon the *Severn*, and marched towards the City; after him, L. G. *Fleetwood*, who had been most part of that day marching of 5 miles from *Upton* to *Powick-Bridge*, which the Kings Army had broken down, passed with Col. *Goff's* and Maj. Gen.

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Dean's Regiment, and joyntly advanced, the Kings Forces encountering them at the Hedges, and disputing every field with them; in such order and with such gallantry, that these already over (lest they should not wholly be discouraged with the hotness of the service) were relieved by reserves, and they by others, no considerable progress yet made, the Highlanders proving excellent Firemen, and coming to the But-end at every foot; till weary, and their Ammunition spent, the King, being then upon the place, Commanded them in some hast into the City, and hastned himself to the other side; where Col. *Heyns* Regiment, with *Cobbets* stood about *Powick-Bridge*, and were entertained with no less Manhood and Slaughter: and though Col. *Matthews* was the reserve to the other 2 Regiments, yet the *Scotch Foot* fairly drove them from their ground; till their little Army being every way engaged, and no seconds or supplies to be expected; after some wheelings in a carelesse regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town, as did that Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray*, Col. *Blague*, *Gibbons*, and *Marsh*.

But they stayed not long here, for as if their spent spirits had broke out with greater fury, they sallied out in great bodies upon *Cromwel's* post, who had now brought the *Militia* forces into play, the Veterans wisely detraacting to engage first upon the storm which was then intended; but there was yet field matter enough to do. In the head of one of those Squadrons, the King himself charged with that gallantry which would have become our Admiration in other men, and shewed he had not forgot the Discipline of

War, in which he had been brought up in his youth; In one of those charges he made, Duke *Hamilton* a better Soldier, and nobler gallanter person than his Brother, received a shot on his Thigh; wherof presently after he dyed. The loss that way sustained by the Enemy fell principally upon the *Essex* Foot, and those of *Cheshire* and *Surrey*, who returned in thin Troops and Companies to their Counties; but fresh and entire Brigades and Regiments, in Reserves, namely *Desboroughs* Regiment of Horse, *Cromwell's* of Horse, *M. G. Lumbers*'s of Horse, *Whalesy's* *Harrison's* and *Tomlinson's* Brigades, with other foot reinforcing them; the *Scots* by the overpowering multitude were driven into the Town, *Lashley* with 2000 Horse (upon what account not known) not stirring out of the Town to relieve them, when the Enemy entered pell-mell with them, and gained the Fort Royal about 7 a Clock at night, about which time the King left the Town, it being dark, and accompanied with some 60 Horse of the chiefest and most confident of his Retinue, though many more pressed to bear him Company, departed out of *St. Martins-gate*, and it was reported that *Cobbet* very narrowly mist him, as the King left his Lodging, whither he first hastned.

The Enemies Foot was now got into the Town, and according to their Order fell a plundering the Town in a most barbarous manner, as if *Turks* were again *Sacking of Constantinople*, and giving no quarter to any they found in the Streets: through this their greediness of spoil, they kept the Horse out lest they should have shared the better part, and to that purpose kept the Gates fast as they were, and so favoured as (God would have it) the Kings escape, some

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Scots who had got into one of the Churches held out till next morning, when they obtained quarter for Life, by which time there was not an Inhabitant in *Worcester*, friend or foe, left worth a farthing; but the Loyal Inhabitants lost little by the Bargain, being supplied with fresh wares to their desires from *London*, without a scruple of credit or payment, and their Debts forbore till such time as God should enable them, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavoured to bring to pass, by their more than ordinary resort to that Market, for all necessaries and upon all occasions. The Mayor (being Knighted by the King) and Aldermen were committed to Prison, and the Wife of one *Guyes* (who for betraying the designs of the King in that Garrison was hanged) was rewarded with 200*l.* per annum, and 200*l.* down.

There were slain in the field and in Town (in the last the most) and in pursuit some 3000, and some 8000, taken prisoners in several places, most of the *English* escaping by their *Shiboleth*, the principal were Duke *Hamilton* (who presently dyed of his wounds) and at *Newport* the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Carnworth*, Earl of *Kelly*, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Cleveland*, the now Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *John Packington*, the Lord *Spyne*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, *C. Graves*, Mr. *Richard Fanshawe* Secretary to the King, 6 Col. of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Leut. Col. of Horse, 8. Leut. Col. of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 Majors of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quartermasters, 89 Lieutenants; there were some General Officers, with 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 90 Quartermasters, 80 of the Kings Seryants, with the Kings Standard which he

had set up when he summoned the Country, the Kings Coach and Horses, and Collar of SS. but that which was Ten times more then all (the Kings person) they had no power to touch.

On the 12. of *Sept.* *Cromwel* came to *London*, and was met about *Acton* with the Speaker and the Members and the Lord Mayor and the Recorder *Steel*, who in a set Speech congratulated his great Successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken Prolepsis applyed these words of the Psalmist, *... To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron*, In an arrogant Exaltation of his Achievements: Next day the common Prisoners (being driven like a Herd of Swine) were brought through *Westminster* into *Tutthill-fields*, (a sadder Spectacle was never seen, except the miserable place of their defeat) and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to *Barbadoes*: the Colours taken were likewise set up in *Westminster-hall*, with those taken before, at *Presson* and *Dunbar*.

He had now passed and surmounted all the difficulties and troubles that the Interest of the Crown hitherto threatned; and nothing was wanting to the Completion of his Aimes, but the Kings person, most miraculously preserved and rescued, to the perpetual disquiet and vexation of this *Would-be-Monarch*. But because that sacred story ought not to be blasphemed with the impiety of his, I will not mingle any of those blessed Providences of his Escape, with the direful designments of *Cromwel's unobstructed passage* to the Throne.

For having superated all outward appearances of danger to his ultimate design, there remained nothing but a wretched and hated *Juncto* of men with whom

whom he was next to grapple ; things so slighted by him, and there Authority so scorned after this discomfiture of the King, that he never vouchsafed them a good look, nay publickly exprest his resentments of their saucy expostulations of his conduct about the Kings march for *England*, which was mentioned before.

And therefore at his first coming into the House, (where he was entertained by the Speaker, with the second part of *Steel's Panegyrick*) a motion was started for a new Representative, and all the Codlings and Embroy's of *Triplo* and *Newmarket-beaths* Engagements afresh resumed, and those Army expedients for which so many Levellers had suffered now again revived, acknowledged, and applauded for the only conducting means to the long expected settlement.

The main whereof was the Proposal of a new Representative to be equally chosen to succeed the present Parliament. A most abominated and deprecated evil by the members, who having done so much mischief, and incurred so much detestation for practising his and their mutual designs upon the best Government and the most incomparable Prince in the world, were almost at their wits end with madness at his, and invention of *their (contra)* devices.

While these things were debating amongst them, and every day produced some fresh altercation and quarrel about dissolving this and choosing of a new Representative, which the Souldiers not only from their former principle as *English Freeman*, but now as the Generals *Fanizaries*, and in obedience to his dictates and commands, with the pretensory advice of his Council of Officers unanimously and readily urged,

ged, (for he had brought the Army to his Bow, and disciplined them to a most exact ignorant devotion and obedience to his Service during the *Scotch War*, where the distance of the Commonwealth-men could not reach) his second self his Son in Law *Ireton* died in *Ireland*, just as he was coming to the fruition of those grand projections they had both conspired. He had employed his Vice-Government after *Cromwel's* departure in reducing places held for the King, there being no field Service ever after.

He survived not the total Conquest of *Ireland*, to which he was by compact and *Oliver's Bull* decreed, but saw a very fair prospect thereof in the rendition of *Limrick* and the expected delivery of *Galloway*: and since this concerned *Cromwel* and the Agreement between them (which is most certain though none of those secret compacts are discoverable) I will give the Reader his Character, and this short account of his decease here.

Limrick being taken, *Ireton* marched to joyn with Sir *Charles Coote* to attempt something further, and together took in *Clare Castle*, but the weather not proving so seasonable, and the Souldiers tired with duty at the Siege of *Limrick*, they parted into winter Quarters, *Ireton* back again to *Limrick*, in the way whither he fell sick on the 15. of *November*, and after purging and bleeding, and other means used, died of the Plague in that City on the 27. of the same month, the Commissioners for the Parliament, there substituting to his command in the Army (while the Parliament or General (for *Cromwel* was lately so made of *Ireland*) should otherwise appoint) *Edmund Ludlow* the Lieutenant General of the Army in that Kingdom. On the 17. of *December* his Car-

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casse was landed at *Bristol*, and pompously dismiss'd to *London*, where it was for a time in State at *Somersets-House*, all hung with black, and a Scutcheon over the Gate with this Motto, *Dulce est pro patria mori*, how suitable, that Countryman best told who Englished it in these words, *it is good for his Country that he is dead*: on *Feb. 6.* following he was interred in *H. 7. Chappel* (being carried out with a pompous Funeral, at which *Cromwel* was chief Mourner, and the *Members* of the *Juncto* attendants in black with a great deal of State) but hath since found a fitter repository for his accursed dust. It was believed by the Army who did credit their own conjectures and others Impositions for want of literature, that he was a perfect Commonwealths-man, and would have withstood his Father in Law in his ambitious intrusions upon the Parliament, and this because he was the Drawer or Promoter of all the Levelling Fundamentals, but he prevented their riper and truer judgment by appearing to a greater and most exact Tribunal, and perished with rottenness in the maturity of his, and this his *Compeer*'s design.

He was absolutely the best Prayer-maker and preacher in the Army, for which he may thank his Educations at *Oxford*, though *Oliver* came but little behind him, being very frequent and instant, now especially in such devotions, out of all season and reason, but it was all one to the Souldiers who had nothing else to do but to *Prey* and to *Pray*. The other qualities and conditions of *Ireton* were so congenial with *Olivers*, that in the prosecution of his story I shall but tell the same things, the evil spirit after his decease being doubled upon him by a mischievous *atempyschosis*, a transmigration of soul, which assim-

lated their Ashes in the same grave at *Tyburn*.

The fortune of this grand atchievement at *Worcester*, had subjugated all the Dominions of the *English* Sovereignty entirely under the power of the Free-States, the *Isles of Scilly, Man, Barbadoes*, and *Christopher*, submitting and acknowledging their jurisdiction, all which were reckoned by *Cromwell* but the Trophies due to his valour and the reward of his labour. And therefore all things thus flattering his conceits of Majesty, He was angry with himself for permitting those delays to his eager Ambition, now complemented, smoothed and tyred by many fine and pretty Evasions of the Members, who wanted not most just pretences to detain the Government from his handling; but of this presently.

There was another thing in his eye which troubled him most of all, and respited and superseded his design upon the *Rump*, which was the illustrious D^y of *Gloucester* then a Prisoner at *Carisbrooke Castle*, the Prison of his Father and the Custody of himself; so long therefore as that Prince should continue here he could not expect that a single person could be opposed to his right, without manifest danger from all parties, who to be revenged of their injuries would rather comply with the Royal Family than suffer his bold Usurpation. Therefore to quit himself of that Fear, he procured by his Party in the Parliament (who were resolved to dispose of him here in some ordinary profession, to make Majesty more contemptible in the sight of Men) that for the lessening the Charge of the Commonwealth, the said Duke should be transported into some place beyond Sea, with a promised Exhibition of some scorned Pension.

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The Noble Duke being accordingly removed to the great content and joy of his relations, who dreaded his Murder, and the satisfaction of *Cromwel* who was Gorged with his Royal Fathers, another danger returned from beyond Sea in exchange of that exported: for the *Dutch* gave manifest Symptoms of a Rupture with this new Common-wealth, whose insolent depredations at sea had molested and greatly damaged their Trade, and braved them to a revenge, upon a pique taken from their rejecting their officers of Treaty and Amity, and suffering their Ambassadors *St. John* and *Strickland* to be affronted at the *Hague*, while the Affairs of the King in *Scotland* were yet in suspense.

It was therefore a hazardous Enterprize to be fighting with two Common-wealths together, and to which his confidence and Resolution could not raise him, without a surer interest in the people, who were to undergoe his Tyranny. This now reprieved the Members from his Decree of Dissolution, while they had tryed the fortune of war with the *Dutch*, and had put things into such a posture and certainty, that no home alteration could discompose or disorder it, the Treasures for the support of the War, being now a filling, a Naval force rigging and equipping, and the Honour and glory of the Nation engaged and concerned. Thus far he cast his Eyes to foreign Transactions, leaving the intestine dangers to the *Jurists*'s desperation, for.

At home the Parliament had a greater mischief breeding against them than they feared from the most dangerous of their foreign Enemies. A dangerous imposture of ambition, whose quabbling-bearing pains gave them no rest, nor could all their skill tell

how to assuage or cure it. It swelled every day more and more in continual addresses, desires, petitions, declarations, till it came to be ripe, and then burst out to the destruction of this political body. This was the reiterated and inculcated story of the Parliaments providing for future equal representatives and putting a period to this, than which nothing could be more distastful, and of greater antipathy to the present Members, which yet they did most artfully conceal, and dissemble in a hundred complying Votes and Resolves even to the ascertaining of the longest day, *November 5. 1654.* for their sitting, but that was two years too long for *Cromwel*, whose fingers itched to be managing a Scepter. In order to this delay, the Committee that first sat and hatcht upon this bill were removed from the nest, and the addle eggs put under the chill incumbency of other wildfowl, and they to proceed therein with all expedition, a thing so unlikely, that *Sultan Cromwel*, who expected a *grand Cairo* brood, resolved not to be baffled much longer, as after a Fast and humiliation of him and his Council of Officers; and the Communication of the grounds thereof, to the whole Army in *England and Ireland* (which was a lamentation for the tedious continuance of self-interested persons in the Authority, and other Religious melancholy about charity, the want thereof was greatly bemoaned) we shall fully discover.

Every other day almost more Fasts, or some such religious Exercise was managed by *Cromwel* and *Harrison*, who mainly promoted the same Proposals for a new Representative, in order to the personal Reign of Christ, and that therefore it was high time the Government was placed in the Hands of his Saints, for all the glorious Prophecies thereof were

NOW

now ready to be fulfilled : and this was cryed up as the Doctrine of the Times.

Cromwel seemed to be of the same judgment and of that Millenary Principle, designing (as he said) nothing of those Mutations of Government which were agitating, but in tendency to that great Revolution : so that he had absolutely fobbed *Harrison* into a confidence of his good Intentions, and that he aimed not at his own greatness : and thereupon all the party *Harrison* could make, which was *Peaks, Rogers,* and *Symptoms* Congregations, were impatient to have the Parliament oured, and their fine module to take place, wherein Righteousness and Holiness should be exalted in the Kingdoms of the World. And now the Turk and the Pope were horribly threatned, and *Oliver* look'd upon as the great Instrument that should confound Antichrist.

But though most of the Officers were thus bewitched and besotted, yet a great many of them had just and strong suspicions what his dissolution of the Parliament would end in, and therefore secret consultations were held how to oppose these practices upon the Parliament ; in whose Authority conserved and secured, they were so wise as to think themselves safe and defended from the After-claps of the Rebellion : Among the rest, several Officers of note came voluntarily out of *Ireland* (as some out of *Scotland*) who had by their general Fasti perceived the Drift of their General, to withstand him, and publicly protest against the conduct of this business, as directly tending to the overthrow and undoing all, for which so much blood had been spilt, and giving up the most glorious Cause in the World, to its vanquished Enemies ; *Nathaniel Argument.*

Major

Major General *Lambert* nevertheless did concur with him in every particular, the whole design being secretly imparted to him, and he promised as a reward for his Assistance, the succession to the Supreme power. This intimacy of *Lambert* was of a long standing ever since *Preston-fight*, and was cemented the faster by that complacency *Oliver* took in his Wife, A woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleasing attractions both for mind and body: The Voice of the people was, that she was more familiar with him than the honor of her Sex would allow, & that she had some extraordinary kindnesses for him which she had not for her husband; and that being the Medium or Reciprocation of Intelligence between them, she did communicate all her husbands designs, and conceal some of the others; though she needed not to have been so squeemish, or reserved for one, whose Depths were never fathomed, or discovered to any one mortal, *Ireton* excepted. Of those that opposed him in the Design; Col. *Venables*, Scout-Master General *Downing*, and Maj. *Streater*, were the most eminent, who to that purpose, as above said, came out of *Ireland*; but Col. *Venables* was soon wrought upon, and Mr. *Downing* offering to speak against it in the Council of Officers, and getting upon a Table for better Audience, was bid to come down by *Cromwel*, asking him what he did there? only Col. *Streater* persisted in his Resolution of giving Reasons against it, and being flamm'd by *Harrison* with Christ's personal Raign, and that he was assured the Lord General sought not himself, but that King Jesus might take the Scepter; He presently replyed, *That Christ must come before Christmas, or else he would come too late.* For this opportune opposition, and 10. Queries then published

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lished by him in the Army, he was committed to the Gatehouse, and look'd upon by *Cromwel* as his Mortal Enemy.

The next Scene of this applauded Comedy was laid at the Cock-pit by *Whitchal*, where *Cromwel* concealing the number of the Beast in his *Apocalypse*, declared to his Council of Officers; *That if they should trust the People in an Election of a new Parliament, according to the old Constitution, it would be a tempting of God, and that his confidence was, that God did intend to save and deliver this Nation by few, as he had done in former times; and that five or six men, and some few more, setting themselves to the Work, might do more in one day, than the Parliament had or would do in a hundred, as far as he could perceive; and that such unbiassed men were like to be the only Instruments of the peoples happiness.*

These things had been offered to be debated with a Committee, and a Treaty agreed, wherein so many Officers, and so many Members should meet, and argue the business, which signified only the crafty constitution of the Parliament (who made Asses of the Sword men) *St. Johns* being one of those Referees, with other rest, Sages of the Anarchy. By this means some 4 or 5. Months were spent upon the Definition of an equal Representative: But *Cromwel* growing teasty, some began to make particular Excuses, others to promise a new Representative to his mind, and some to side with the Equity of his Proposals, as most consistent, well advised, and prudential means, to the peace of the Nation; such a ridiculous collusion, that I cannot but anticipate the Event of this Conspiracy with this Truth.

Upon his return from the Dissolution of the Parliament

ament back again to the Council of Officers, He acquainted them of his Exploit, and then told them that now they must go hand in hand with him, and justify what was done to the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, as having advised and concurred in it: Adding, That when he went into the House, he intended not to do it; but the Spirit was so upon him, That he was over-ruled by it, and did not therefore consult with Flesh and Blood at all, nor did he premeditate the doing thereof, though he plainly saw the Parliament designed to spin an everlasting Thread. And because there are few good Acts of his Life, let the Reader score him up One, for the 23. of April, 1653.

Oliver himself attended by Maj. Gen. *Lambert*, *Harrison* and some 8. more Officers, having after several conferences with their Committees (who shewed him the danger of calling a new Representative, as the Case then stood with the Common-wealth, for that no qualifications could sufficiently secure the interest thereof, and that the only way was to recruit the House which could judge of such Elections by their own Authority) received no satisfaction, entered the House, some Members being made privy to his design before, especially Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, who had held consultation the night before with him and was up armed in his chamber till the very time) and after a Speech therein shewing the reasons and necessity of that Dissolution, did declare it to be so, and required them to depart; saying in some passion to some of them who began to ask the reason of this, *thou art an Whoremaster, thou a Drunkard, thou a Cheater of the publique*; and presently Maj. Gen. *Harrison* peremptorily bid the Speaker leave the Chair; which he refused to do without the Order of the House, and

exit

till he was pulled out; whereupon *Harrison* desired him to lend him his hand, and gently heaved him out; *Cromwel* also commanded that Bauble (as he called the Mace) to be taken away, and to be carried no more in State before him, and so having turned them out of Doors, lockt them up and clapt Guards before them, and about all the Avenues of the Palace, to keep these Spirits out from possessing it again.

The News of this Luciferian fall, was quickly spread throughout the City, and from thence into the Kingdom, being related and received with all imaginable gladness; while the Members slunk away, muttering to themselves the affront they had received, and laying their heads together how to retrieve themselves; for loth they were to suffer this violence, or acknowledg their Dissolution; which they would by no means hear of. But whatever they fancied to the contrary, raving at this boldness & audaciousness of their Servant, as they styled *Cromwel*, he minded it not, but went on in his work.

The Government (such as it was) was now lodged in the Council of Officers of his own making and preferring, and the first thing done by them after this new module, was the Emitting of a Declaration from him and his Officers, shewing the grounds and reasons of this Dissolution of the Parliament, with an account of their Intentions as to the present and future government of the Nation: which that it may appear by how slender a thread the Sword of this lawless Commander hung over the heads of those Parliament Tyrants, is very requisite to be inserted; it holding forth the present Intrigues of *Cromwel*'s designs, and method of ambition.

Our intention is not to give an account at this time of the grounds which first moved us to take up Arms, &c.

guge our lives & all that was dear unto us, in this Cause; nor to mind in this Declaration the various Dispensations through which Divine Providence hath led us, or the witness the Lord hath born, & the many signal testimonies of acceptance the Lord hath given to the sincere endeavors of his unworthy Servants, whilst they were contesting with the many & great difficulties, as well in the wars, as other transactions in the three Nations; being necessitated, for the defence of the same cause they first asserted, to have recourse unto extraordinary actions; the same being evident by former Declarations published on this behalf.

After it had pleased God not only to reduce Ireland, and give in Scotland, but so marvellously to appear for his People at Worcester, that these Nations were reduced to a great degree of Peace, and England to perfect quiet; and thereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the People the harvest of their labor, blood and treasure, and to settle a due liberty both in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, their Engagements, as also the great & wonderful things which God had wrought for them; it was matter of much grief to the good and well-affected of the Land, to observe the little progress which was made therein, which thereupon applied to the Army expecting redress by their means; notwithstanding which, the Army, being unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority in matters so properly appertaining to it, it was agreed, that his Excellency and Officers of the Army, which were Members of Parliament, should be desired to move the Parliament, to proceed vigorously in performing what was amiss in Government, & to the settling of the Commonwealth upon a foundation of justice & righteousness; which having done, we hoped that the
Parlia-

Parliament would seasonably have answered our expectations: But finding (to our grief) delays therein, we renewed our desires in an humble petition to them, which was presented in August last, and although they at that time signifying their good acceptance thereof returned us Thanks, & referred the particulars thereof to a Committee of the House, yet no considerable Effect was produced, nor any such progress made, as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was Petitioned for; but on the contrary there more & more appeared amongst them, an aversion to the things themselves with much bitterness & opposition to the People of God, & his Spirit acting in them: which grew so prevalent, that those persons of Honour and Integrity amongst them, who had eminently appeared for God and the publick good, both before & throughout this War, were rendered of no further use in Parliament, than by meeting with a corrupt party, to give them countenance to carry on their ends, & for effecting the desire they had of perpetuating themselves in the supreme Government. For which purpose the said party long opposed, and frequently declared themselves against having a new Representatives; and when they saw themselves necessitated to take that Bill into consideration, they resolved to make use of it to recruit the House with persons of the same Spirit and temper, thereby to perpetuate their own sitting, which intention divers of the activest amongst them did manifest, labouring to persuade others to a consent therein: And the better to effect this, divers Petitions preparing from several Counties for the Continuance of this Parliament, were encouraged, if not set on foot by many of them.

For obviating these evils, the Officers of the Army, obtained several meetings with some of the Parliament, to consider what fitting mean & remedy might be applied

to prevent the same: lest that this Cause which the Lord hath so greatly blessed, and bore witness to, should languish under their hands, and by degrees, be wholly lost; and the Lives, Liberties, and comforts of his people delivered into their Enemies hands.

All which being sadly and seriously considered by the honest people of this Nation, as well as by the Army, and wisdom and direction being sought from the Lord; it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God going along with us, to consider of some more effectual means, to secure the cause, which the good people of this Commonwealth had been so long engaged in; and to establish righteousness and peace in these Nations.

And after much debate it was judged necessary, and agreed upon, that the Supreme Authority should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons, men fearing God and of approved Integrity & the Government of the Commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all Gods people, reform the Laws, & administer Justice impartially; hoping thereby the people may forget Monarchy, and understanding their true Election of successive Parliaments, may have the Government settled upon a true Basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the same.

And being still resolved to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary curses, we prevailed with about 20 Members of Parliament, to give us a conference with whom we freely and plainly debated the necessity and justice of our proposals on that behalf; and did evidence that those and not the Act under their consideration, would most probably bring forth something answerable to that work, the foundation whereof God himself hath laid, and is now carrying on in the world. The

The which notwithstanding found no acceptance, but instead thereof, it was offered, that the way was to continue still this present Parliament, as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good things. And this being vehemently insisted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehensions; That not any love to a Representative, but the making use thereof to recruit, and so to perpetuate themselves, was their aim.

They being plainly dealt with about this, and told, That neither the Nation, the honest Interest, nor we our selves, would be deluded by such dealings, They did agree to meet again the next day in the afternoon for mutual satisfaction, it being consented to by the Members present, that Endeavors should be used, that nothing in the mean time should be done in Parliament, that might exclude or frustrate the Proposals before-mentioned.

Notwithstanding this, the next morning the Parliament did make more hast than usual, in carrying on their said Act, being helped on therein by some of the persons engaged to us the night before, none of them which were then present endeavouring to oppose the same; and being ready to put the main Question for consummating the said Act, whereby our aforesaid Proposals would have been rendered void, and the way of bringing them into a fair and full Debate of Parliament obstructed.

For preventing whereof, & all the sad & evil consequences, which must upon the grounds aforesaid have ensued, and whereby at one blow the Interest of all honest men, and of this glorious Cause, had been endangered to be laid in the dust, and these Nations embroiled in new Troubles at a Time when our Enemies abroad are watching all advantages against us, and some of them actually engaged in war with us; we have been necessitated, though with much reluctancy, to put an end to this Parliament; which

yet we have done (we hope) out of an honest heart, preferring this Cause above our names, lives, families, or interests how dear soever; with clear intentions, and real purposes of heart, to call to the Government persons of approved fidelity and honesty: believing, That as none will expect to gather Grapes of Thorns, so good men will hope, that if persons so qualified be chosen, the fruits of a just and righteous Reformation, so long prayed and wished for, will by the blessing of God be in due time obtained, to the refreshing of all these good hearts, who have been panting after these things.

And how more might have been said if it had been our desire to justify our selves, by aspersing others and raising quarrels to the Government of affairs: but we shall conclude with this, That as we have been led by necessity and Providence, to act as we have done, even beyond & above our own thoughts & desires, some shall say, in that of this great work which is behind, put our selves wholly upon the Lord for a blessing; professing we look not to stand one day without his support, much less to bring to pass one of the things mentioned & desired, without his assistance. And therefore do solemnly desire & expect, That all men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their own destruction, would wait for such issue as he should bring forth, & to follow their business with peaceable spirits, wherein we promise them protection by his assistance.

And for those who profess their fear and love to the Name of God: that seeing, in a great measure for their sakes, & for righteousness sake, we have taken our lives in our hands, to do these things, they would be instant with the Lord, day & night on our behalfs, that we may obtain grace from him. And seeing we have made so often mention of his Name, that we may not do the least dishonour thereto which indeed would be our confusion, and a stain to the whole profession of godliness.

we beseech them also to live in all humility, meekness, righteousness, & love one towards another, & towards all men; that so they may put to silence the ignorance of the foolish, who falsely accuse them, and know that after late great and glorious dispensations, were in the Lord back so wonderfully appeared in bringing forth these things, by the travel & blood of his Children, ought so to oblige them, so to walk in the Wisdom and love of Christ, as may cause others to honour their holy Profession, because they see Christ to be in them of a truth.

We do further propose, before it be long, more particularly to shew the Grounds of our Proceedings, & the Reasons of this late great Action & Change, which in this we have but hinted at.

And we do lastly declare, That all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Committees, and all other Civil Officers & Publick Ministers whatsoever, within the Commonwealth, or any parts thereof, do proceed in their respective Places, & Offices, & all persons whatsoever, are to give Obedience to them as fully as when the Parliament was sitting.

Signed in the Name and by the Appointment of his Excellency the Lord General, and his Council of Officers.

Whitehall the 22, William Malyne, Secret.
of April, 1653.

To Ingratiate now with the Presbyterian, who yet kept up their form of Church Worship, and were the most of one publick persuasion, all disturbances in Churches were prohibited; the Phanatick licentiousness of the Army, which swarmed with Anabaptists, Quakers, and Ranters, and were now made to be seizing all the remaining Revenue of Church Lands,

in *Glebe, Tythe, or Impropriations*. And to this purpose Addresses were eagerly carried on, such hopes being under-hand given them, to strengthen the hands of this *Dictator* in carrying on the work of *Sion*.

He was also complemented by the *French Ambassador Bourdeaux*, who had made Applications to the Parliament, but was doubtfull of effecting his Errand with those highest and Mightiest States who were grown formidable not only to the *Dutch*, but to his Master, who willingly courted them to prevent their closing with his Rebels of *Bourdeaux*; only *Oliver* as we have seen, valued them no more than *Scoundrels* or *Rake-Shames*, nor would give ear to any more Enemies of Monarchy.

Being thus by force posselt of the Supreme power after he had held it some few daies, to shew the absurd and ridiculous State *Captivities* of the Council of officers who as yet managed the Civil Authority, he transmitted it to a new Council of State, made up of the Supreme of them, and some former *Junkies* men; who by Proclamation commanded all Officers to execute their Trusts, as formerly, and required the same obedience; to commute with which they abated the Tax from 120000 to 90000 *per mansum*. It was now remarked that many great Fires usher'd in this Incendiaries Usurpation.

This Council of State did next give birth to that Monster of the little Parliament, which like an abortive Cub was cast by *Crammel*, and fondly and vainly lick'd by *Harrison*; both which had most different ends on this Convention, in the one a Temporal, in the other a spiritual Pride and Covetousness, (though not altogether purified from the Deceits of the World) worked in this mysterious knack of a new unheard

unheard of Legislative Authority; who by the Name of Men of *Integrity* and *Fidelity* to the Cause of God, were by a bare summons from *Oliver* called to the Settlement of the State; that was, to be Stirrups or Footsteps to the Throne whereon *Cromwel* should tread, they being abject and mean people, being such as were named by the Officers, that is, by *Cromwel*'s Agents to this Council, and of most destructive principles to all Community, and Society, either as Men or Christians. It is observable that *Cromwel* who utterly rejected the *Rump*-expedient to his instances of a new Representative of filling up the House, by foisting in Elections of their own to which (their Authority standing) they could unquestionably awe the Country, made not nice of it for himself in more presumptuous and most illegal manner.

According to their Summons, on the 4 of *July*, the Members of approved Fidelity, &c. met at the Council Chamber in *Whitehal*, to whom *Cromwel* in a zealous Speech, much to the purpose of his Declaration, and the occasions of the present Meeting, stuf with various citations of Scriptures, (I am loath to nauseate the Reader with any more of his Harangues at large) to his, (but far from the) purpose, devolved the Supreme Trust; which they translated into more Common English, adjourning themselves after a short Consultation to *westminster*, and giving themselves the Title and Authority of the Parliament of *England*, voting Mr. *Francis Rouse* for their Speaker, but with a Collateral Vote that he should continue in the Chair no longer than for a Month. They were persons for the most part of such mean and ignote extractions, that so far they were from being taken notice of by their Shires, each of whom (but two or three) repre-

represented, that they were scarce known in the very Towns they were born, or afterwards inhabited, till the Excise, then Committees for Sequestration, and the War in the respective Counties, made them infamously known; The rest were of his Partisans in the Parliament and High Court of Justice.

On the 12. of Dec. (as it had been directed by the Council of State) the Parliament being late, some of the Members stood up one after another, and made a Motion for a Dissolution thereof; for that it would not be for the good of the Nation to continue it longer; this court. All almost blasted the men of *Fidelity* and Committee Blades, who had scarce washed their Fingers ends in the Government, and were newly settling the selves and their Friends in a thriving way, as they had done in their Offices they had passed before: and thereupon they began one after another to make perorations of the Cause of God, and the Godly People committed to their Charge, which they could not tell how to answer him, if so easily they should give it up, and leave the Commonwealth in such a distraction as would inevitably ensue; and *M. G. Harrison*, &c. *Arthur Squib* (the great Sequestrators of *Haherdashers hall*) were very copiously zealous in defence of their Authority. But the Military or Court-party being the Major part, not thinking them worthy of a dispute or longer debate, the Speaker being of their side, rose and left the House and them sitting in it; where to prayers they went, and then resolved to continue sitting.

In the mean time *Rouse* the Speaker with the Mace before him (and his Followers) came to *White-hall*, and there resigned the Instrument he gave them, by which they were constituted a Parliament, and gave him

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him likewise to understand how they had left their
 Fellowes: Their surrender was kindly received by *Oliver*,
 and they thanked for the pains they had taken in
 the service of the Commonwealth, however he and
 they had miss'd of their intentions of the good should
 thereby have come to the Commonwealth, which a
 strange spirit and perverse principle in some of the
 Members had solely hindred; and as to them yet Sit-
 ting in the Parliament House, he dispatch'd away
 Lieut. Col. *White* a Confident of his to dislodge them,
 who accordingly with a Guard of Red-coats came
 thither, and entering the House, demanded them in the
 name of the General to depart, for the Parliament
 was Dissolved: who replying to the contrary, and
 telling him they were upon Business, and ought not
 to be thus disturb'd; he asked, what Business? they
 answered, we are seeking of God; Pugh saith he, is
 that all, that's to no purpose, for God hath not been
 within these Walls these 12 years, and so fairly com-
 pelled them out muttering with the same wrath and
 sorrowful look-backs, as those that had late 30 times
 the same term, and could have almost pleaded pre-
 scription.

Thus was the Power emptied from one Vessel to
 another, as the Scribes and Chaplains of the Grands
 phrased it, and could find no settlement, till *Oliver*
 was called to it by his Council of Officers, to supply
 this gap in the government: and now a single person
 with a Council is the only expedient, for the Safety
 of the People; for that there is no trust nor truth in
 Parliaments, as their often aberrations and failures
 had sufficiently declared; and it was discoursed by the
 Abettors of this Change, that it was not Monarchy
 which was quarrell'd at, but the corruptions and abu-
 ses

les of it, in its unlimited unbounded Prerogative, all which would be avoided, by the circumscription of it in a Protector, by his Council and a new Instrument of Government, and the supreme power of a Triennial Parliament, in whom during their Session the Sovereign Authority should reside.

So they said, and so they did: for after 4. daies time (in which *Feak* and his Freaking Partisans were almost run from their wits in rage and madness) *Crom.* was appointed and declared for Protector of this Infant Commonwealth (and it was a tedious Intervall to him) the *Chancery* Court at *Westminster-hall* being prepared for the Ceremony of the Instalment in this manner, after the usually seeking of God by the Officers of the Army.

The Protector about one of the Clock in the afternoon, came from *White-hall* to *Westminster* to the *Chancery* Court, attended by the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal of *England*, *Baron* of the *Exchequer*, and Judges in their Robes; after them, the Council of the Commonwealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of the City of *London*, in their Scarlet Gowns; then came the Protector attended with many of the chief Officers of the Army; a Chair of State being set in the said Court of *Chancery*, the Protector stood on the left hand thereof uncovered, till a large Writing in parchment in the manner of an Oath, was read there being the power with which the Protector was invested and how the Protector is to govern the three Nations; which the Protector accepted of, and subscribed in the face of the Court, and immediately hereupon sat down covered in the Chair; the Lords Commissioners then delivered up the Great Seal of *England* to the Protector, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cup of

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Maintenance, all which the Protector return'd immediately to them again. The Court then rose, and the Protector was attended back as aforesaid, to the Banqueting house at *White-hall*, the Lord Mayor himself uncovered carrying the Sword before the Protector all the way; and coming into the Banqueting-house, an exhortation was made by Mr. *Lockyer*, after which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed.

The Instrument or Module, framed to be the Foundation of this present Government, was chiefly made up of the following heads.

That the Supreme Legislative Authority be and reside in a single person, and the people in Parliament, the Execution of that Power to be in the Protector, with the advice of his Council, not to exceed Twenty and One, All proceedings to run in the Name and Style of the Protector, and all Honours, Offices and Titles to be derived from him that he may pardon all Offences but Treason and Murder. The Militia during the Parliament shall be in his and their hands, but in the intervals only in his and his Councils. He and his Council to make war and Peace with foreign Princes. Not make new Laws or abrogate old without Consent of Parliament. A Parliament to be called within six Months, and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftner, which the Protector shall not dissolve without consent in Parliament, till after five Months. The Parliament of English to consist of 400 to be chosen by more equal distributions, in Counties and Boroughs of Scotch 30 and so many of the Irish. The Summoning the Parliament to pass under the Seal of the Commonwealth, to the Sheriffs; and if the Protector omit or deny that, then the Commissioners of the Seal, he held under pain of High Treason, to issue out such Writs; and

in case of failure in him, the High Sheriff; and some other By-blows concerning the equality and fairness of Elections, under great penalties. No Royalist, Irish Rebels or Papists to be capable of being Elected; and in case they be, to forfeit two years Revenue, and three parts of their goods, none to be Elected under the Age of 21 years, nor unless he be a man of Integrity, a lover of God, & of good conversation. None to have voices in Election but such as were worth 200 pounds. The Elections to be forthwith transmitted to the Council of State, by the Secretary of Commissioners, and in case of dispute to the Council of State. Sixty to make a Quorum. The Protector if need be to call Parliaments between the Intervals thereof. Bills offered to the Pro. if not assented to by him within forty daies, to pass into Laws notwithstanding. The Protector with the advice of his Council, in case of death, or Breach of Trust to substitute new Privy Counsellors. A Competent Revenue to be seiled for the maintenance of ten thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, and the Army not to be altered or lessened but by the advice of the Council, & upon the disbanding of them, the money to be brought to the Exchequer. No new Levies, nor Laws to be made without Consent in Parliament. All forfeited Lands unsold to belong to the Protector. The Protectorate to be Elective, but the Royal Family to be excluded. Oliver Cromwel to be the present Protector. All Places of Trust and Office to be in the Protectors disposal; if in Interval of Parliament, to be Approved and confirmed on Parliament. The rest; for the purity and toleration of Religion, out of which the Papist and Protestant were to be exempted, and all Laws in favour of them to be abrogated. All Sales of Parliament to be confirmed. Articles of War to be made good. And lastly, the Protector and his Successor to be bound by Oath to observe these present Articles

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Articles, and to uphold the Peace and welfare of the Nation; which Oath was in these words.

I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters & things contained in the Instrument, but to observe, & cause the same to be observed; & in all things to do the best of my understanding, governeth actions according to the Laws, Statutes, & Customs, to seek their peace, & cause Justice & Law to be equally administered.

The Peat needed no more security, as good altogether as his Authority, in this following Proclamation, which was published throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, in these words.

Whereas the late Parliament dissolved themselves, and resigning their powers and authorities, the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, in a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments is now established: And whereas Oliver Cromwel Capt. Gen. of all the Forces of this Commonwealth is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the premises, & strictly to charge and command all and every person or persons, of what quality and condition soever in any of the said three Nations to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established. And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation, to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.

This Miscellany of the laws, and new projections, suited a great many humours and different persuasions of the Phanaticks, Independents, Anabaptists, and others, being the second part of the Acton. And because there is occasion for it, we will discourse a little of the present State of Religion, and what

what opinion *Cromwel* best aspected. The Orthodox Protestants were wholly suppress'd; and yet some Reverend persons, as *Dr. Usher* the Bishop of *Armagh*, and *Dr. Brewster* the Bishop of *Exeter*, received some shews of respect and reverence from Him; which he more manifestly boasted in the funeral Expences of the learned *Usher*, and this to captate a Reputation of his love to Scholars, and the meek, modest and vertuous Clergy. The *Presbyterian* was rather tolerated than countenanced, and yet such of them as would comply with his Court greatness, were much in his eye and his favour; for others of them he cared not, pleasingly expressing himself how he had brought under the Pride and Arrogance of that Sect, making those that would allow no liberty to others sue for it for themselves. The Independents and Anabaptists he loved and preferred by turns, and was most constant to them, as the men that would and did support his Usurpation: only he could by no means endure the Fifth Monarchy men, though by their dotages he had raised himself to this height; and therefore *Peak* and *Rogers*, were by him committed to prison in the Castle of *Windsor*, where they continued a long while, and not only so, but he set *Kiffin* the Anabaptist whom he had taken out of prison into his favor, with his party, together by the ears with *Peaks*, to the raising of a Feud between them; the Ballance of his Security in the Government. The like he did betwixt the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, a subdivided Schism from the Church of *England*, as *Peak*; and *Kiffin* were from Independency; whom when out of his zeal to the Unity of Christian Religion, he seemed to bring together, to compose and accommodate all Differences;

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in the near probability of such expedients, he would divide and more irreconcilably sever and alienate. And this was all his practical devotion. But to return.

Great shooting of Guns at night, and Volleys of Acclamations, were given at the close of this mock solemnity by *Cromwel's* Janizaries; while the Cavaliers were more joyfully disposed at the Hopes of the Kings Affairs, but no body of any Account giving the Usurper a good word or *mückdische* with his greatness, save what was uttered in Fur by my Lord Mayor, and the Complices in his Fact, who tickled his ears with the Eccho of the Proclamation done with the usual Formalities. These Triumphs so disgusted *Harrison*, (as also *Col. Rich*) that he withdrew himself from the Gang, and turned publique Preacher or railer against his Comrade *Oliver*; who was glad to be rid of such a busie impertinent Assistant in the moduling of Government: So *Cromwel* had now two Commonwealth-contradivided Factions against him, the old and new Parliaments, and therefore it nearly concerned him to make much of the Anabaptist and Sectary, which now succeed Independency, as the Religion maintained and favoured above all other: and *Kiffin* a great Leader and Teacher, was now in great request at the Court at *White-hall*, and contrarily *Sir Henry Vane*, jun. was look'd on a skue, as also *Sir Arthur Hazlerig*, and *Bradshaw*, and *Scot*, and so the *Babel*-builders were confounded one amongst another.

The Council appointed by the Officers, or taken rather by himself, by whose advice he was to Govern, were 14 at first.

Lord *Lambert*.

Lord Viscount *Leffr*.

General *Deshrow*.

Sir Gilbert Pickering.

L

General

Major General Skippon.	Francis Rouse Esq;
Sir Anth. Ashley Cooper.	Richard Major Esq;
Walter Strickland Esq;	John Lawrence Esq;
Sir Charles Wolfley.	Col. Edward Montague.
Col. Philip Jones.	Col. William Sydenham.

I should have mentioned the *Dutch War* in its place, which aggrandized him with the usual victorious success; but because he was never personally engaged in the Service, but owed this Garland, as he did the glory of *Dunbar*, to the noble General *Monck*, and wore but a second-hand Triumphant Robe; I will not constellate him with that Hero's Splendor and Brightness of Fame.

That which properly concerns *Cromwel* is rather the Dishonour of that War, the Peace that ensued the Conclusion of it; for the Stomach of that Nation had been so humbled by several great Losses, their Trade so spoiled, and their Subjects so impoverished, that it was thought impossible for them to have equipped another Fleet, able to look our Navies in the Face; Withall there were so many Discontent and Divisions in that popular State that they were ready to ruine themselves without any of our help; yet did this puny and unsledged Prince come to a Treaty and Agreement with them, upon most mean and inconsiderable Terms, when it had been no question but another Rub at Sea, or beleaguering their Ports, would have brought them down to the humble Complement of Our faithful Tributaries; which of how great advantage it might have been to the Trade, and consequently the greatness of this Kingdom, I take not upon me to determine.

His next Affair was a Conclusion of a League with the

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the Queen of Sweden which he transmitted by the Embassy of the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*; who being commissioned at his Departure by the foolish Parliament, was invested with new Credentials from *Cromwel*, whom accordingly he owned as his most serene Highness his Master.

Cromwel next supplied the Benches of the Court at *Westminster*, with the ablest of the Lawyers, whom he had invited to the public service, and Mr. *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Nadigate*, *Hugh Windham* were made Serjeants, and Mr. *Hales* one of the Justices of the *Common-pleas*, where *St. Johns* yet sat; and of the Cabinet to his Protector besides; having preferred his Man *Thurloe* (his Secretary at the *Hague*) to be his Secretary of State, the Candle or Light of that Dark Lanthorn, which *St. Johns* was said to be in these mysterious times of *Cromwel*, in all his attempts and designs of consequence and Moment.

The *Dutch Peace* was also concluded on by the Ambassadors and Commissioners of the said Council for the Protector; between whom this private Article was agreed; that the Prince of *Orange*, should never be restored to the Dignities, Offices, and Charge his Ancestors held and enjoyed: and this was urged for the better conservation of the Peace which would in his Restitution be endangered, because of his Relation to the King.

The Protector dined in great State upon an Invitation from the Lord Mayor, &c. at *Grocers-Hall* the 8. of *February* being *AshWednesday*, a very unsuitable day for any Festival but his Entertainment, who inverted all things, the Streets being raised from *Temple-Bar* thither, the Liveries in their Gowns in their gradual standings awaiting him; he was met at the

said Gate by Alderman *Vyner* the Lord Mayor, who delivered him the Sword there, and having received it from him back again, bore it one Horseback bareheaded before him all the way, through which the same silence was kept, as if a Funeral had been *en passant*; and no doubt it was that muteness which *Tacitus* mentioned in *Tiberius*, *quale magna Ira vel magni metus est silentium*, no appreciations or so much as a *How do ye?* being given during the Cavalcade. After Dinner he was served with a Banquet, in the conclusion whereof he Knighted Alderman *Vyner*, and would have done the same to the Recorder *Steel*, for his learned Speech of Government, calculated and measured for him; but he for good Reasons avoided it; My Lord Mayor was forced to carry it home, and anger his Wife with it, who had real *Honour* both in her Name and Nature. *Oliver* at his return had the second course of a brick-bat, from the top of a house in the *Strand* by *St. Clements*, which light upon his Coach and almost spoiled his Digestion with the daringness of the affront, search was made but in vain, the person could not be found, and it could not be thought to be vengeance from above; which as yet was not ready to rain upon him.

He published a little after an Ordinance for the Trial and Approbation of Ministers, wherein *Philip Nye*, *Goodwyn*, *Hugh Peters*, *M Manton*, and others, were named Commissioners: the question these men put to the Examinants, was not of Abilities or Learning, but grace in their hearts, and that with so bold and saucy Inquisition, that some men trembled at their Interrogatories, they phrasing it so, as if (as was said of the Council of *Trent*) they had the Holy Ghost in a Cloak-bag, or were rather *Simon Ma-*

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his own Disciples; and certainly there were never such *Simoniacks* in the World, not a living of value, but what a Friend or the best purchaser was admitted into, to which humane learning even where a former right was, was a good and sufficient bar; no less to the ruin than scandal of the Church of *England*, and the Protestant Religion and Professors thereof; several ignorant bold Laicks being inducted into the best Spiritualities, as best consisted with *Oliver's* Interest, which depended upon the Sectary, and their hideous divisions in Religion.

The Foreign Affairs which he now most aspected, were the two Neighbouring potent Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, with one whereof he must of necessity quarrel, and so spend the ill blood, and convey away those humours which were so redundant in the old Souldiery, both of the Kings and *Essex's* Army, and if not employed in some foreign War, would create him trouble at home; this the *French* Cardinal, newly restored to the administration of that Monarchy, timely foresaw, and therefore a Treaty was privately and industriously carried on here by Monsieur *Bourdeaux Neuville*, to an amicable Association and League against the *Spaniard*. *Cromwel's* Covetousness and Thirst of Gold prevailing against his Interest and Ambition and Thirst of Malice and Mischief against the Royal Family, which was as yet shaded under the *French Fleurs de Lyces*, whereby all Persons expected an Invasion from hence of that Kingdom, that if it were possible for his Treason, he might drive it out of the world.

But *Mazarine's* Golden expedient and temporary Medium, of shifting the King and his Relations out of the Kingdom, by virtue of the said League,

wholly swayed and inclined him to a War against Spain, which not long after was commenced: The greater Invitation thereto being three ships pretended *Hamburgers*, but laden with the King of Spain's pieces of Eight, whether for his Account or no uncertain, that had been newly stayed and seized by the Court of Admiralty, at the prosecution of one *Violet a Goldsmith*; and notwithstanding the Spanish Ambassador, *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, protested and struggled against it, were carried to the Tower, and there minted to the Sum of 400000 Sterl. This, and other Moneys in the *Exchequer*, gave the greater courage to his Ambition, and his raw and unfeeling Usurpation. He had also now accepted satisfaction from the King of *Portugal*, and was entred into League and Friendship with him.

How many are the troubles, cares, and miseries of Tyrant greatness? No sooner is one design, one passion gratified and accomplished, but another disquiet and danger invades or perplexes him. No sooner had he sacrificed to his Covetousness, but now he must offer Victims to his Cruelty, the next Assurance of his hated Throne. There is in the Labyrinth of Vice, as in the orderly Frame of Arts and Sciences, a Circle, a *Κυκλοποιησις*, a Spherical Motion from one evil to another, till the last terminates at the beginning, their qualities and quantities being only altered, augmented, or diminished by Time or other circumstances.

From the deep Design of foreign *Mines*, He next converted his thoughts upon a Home-spun Plot. A horrible practice of Machiavitian Policy, and Art of Empire, with which even just Scepters have been polluted, and stained by some inhumane Ministers

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of State, upon pretences of preventing danger (who stand chargeable even with the Loyal blood this Leech suckt from their Conduits) to entrap and engage innocent persons (upon Suspicion of others of the same party, who are obnoxious to the Government) in Machinations and Conspiracies of their own forming and contrivance, and by their Emissaries betray and condemn them. This was the first bloody remarque of *Cromwel's* Princing, managed by his Secretary *Thurlos*, who drew in Colonel *John Gerard* and Mr. *Vowel* two eminent Royalists into his snare of a pretended conspiring the Death of *Oliver*, with others who confest the Intention; for which these two were both condemned by a High Court of Justice, (*Cromwel* not daring to trust the Laws or a Jury, the Birthright of *Englishmen*, no more than did the former *Junts* of Regicides) and the first beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, and the other hanged at *Charing-Cross*; the Colonel declaring, That he was so far from having hand or heart in it, or any encouragement from the King (as was falsely suggested) that he feared he should not die right in his favour, as being but suspected of that (though so just) Assassinate: it being below His Majesties Honour and Religion. Mr. *Vowel* referred his Cause, and his unjust Judges, and the Tyrant to Heavens Tribunal.

This was the Rozin, there wanted now the Consent of the People in Parliamenr, to fiddle and tune his Instrument. He resolved therefore to call one forthwith; for the Nation began to murmur at him (and some openly to refuse obedience) and to forget the pleasing acquiescence in the change he had made, since they saw he made it only for himself. The Nine dayes wonder was over, and they had recovered

then.

themselves to a fresh sense of their Slavery. (which might afterwards stupifie and benum them) before the several opposite parties of Royalists, and Commonwealth-men, could understand one another, and bandy both against Him.

Having now plotted and secured the Elections of as many Sectaries and of his party to the ensuing Parliament, as his young Interest could procure him; in the Month of *July*, to recreate himself and his Familiar *Thurloe*, with some Robust and jogging Exercise, to void the Gravel with which he was much troubled, He would needs shew his skill in driving a Coach with six great *German* Horses, sent him as a present by the Count of *Oldenburgh*, in *Hide-Park*; but those generous Horses no sooner heard the Lath of the Whip, but away they ran with *Thurloe* sitting trembling in it, for fear of his own Neck over Hill and Dale, and at last threw down their unexpert Governour from the Box, into the Tracks, and there had likely to have trod and drawn him to pieces; but Vengeance was yet again pleased to respite him and put him over to a like judicial Execution, (after his *immature* Death) in 1660. Of this ominous chance many ingenious Songs were made, and one called the Jolt by Sir *John Berkenhead*, which being in Print in a History (and in the *Rump*-Songs) though the Author mistaken, is purposely forborn.

The Elections were made one and the same day throughout *England*; most of the Boroughs had but one Burgess, and the Shires some of them 6 or 7 Knights, all of them under sure qualifications, of not having been or being of the Cavalier party; there were 30 also by the Instrument Elected for *Scotland*, and as many for *Ireland*; all or most of whom

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whom were *English* Commanders. On the 3 of *September*, they met, and adjourned from the House to the Abbey, where Mr. *Marshal* preached, and so to the *Painted Chamber*, where they had a Message from the Protector to invite them to a Sermon the next day again, when Doctor *Goodwin* preached, and the Protector came in great State in his Coach, *Cleypole* Master of the Horse, and *Strickland* the Captain of his Guard, bareheaded on both sides; at his entrance into the Church, *Lambert* carried the Sword before him, and *Whitlock* the Purse; the Sermon done, to the *Painted Chamber* again, and there in a Speech he set forth these Heads.

That some few years ago, none would have thought of such a Dore of Hope; that he knew there were yet many Humours and Interests, and that Humours were above Interest, that the condition of England was like Israel in the Wilderness (of which the Sermon was) that this was a Healing day, there was neither Noble-man, nor Gentleman, nor Yeoman before known by any distinction, we had not any that bore rule and Authority, but a great contempt of Magistracy and Christs Ordinances; that the Fifth Monarchy was highly cried up by persons who would assume the Government, but that desired Reign wanted greater Manifestation, than appeared for such men to change the Authority by (and this directed at the little Parliament.) He desired this Honourable Assembly to remedy all these Disorders, shewed that the Portugal, French and Dutch differences do, and did eat up the Assessments, that swarms of Jesuits were crept in to make divisions, which were grown so wide that nothing but his Government could

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remedy them, and let men say what they will, he could speak it with comfort before a greater than any of them. Then he shewed what he had done during his Government; First, his endeavour of reforming the Laws, having joyned all Parties to assist in that great work; next, his filling the Benches with the ablest Lawyers; then his regulation of the Court of Chancery, and then his Darling Ordinance for approbation of Ministers (which hindered all that List from invading the Ministry) by men of both persuasions, Presbyterians and Independents, &c. And lastly, his being Instrumental to call a Free Parliament, which he valued and would keep it so above his life.

Then he shewed the advantages of the Peace, with the Dutch, Dane, and Swede, and the Protestant Interest, which he would have them improve and intend chiefly; that they were now upon the edge of Canaan; that he spoke not as their Lord, but their Fellow servant: and then bid them go and chase their Speaker. Which they did without presenting of him; his Name *William Lenthall*, the old Chairman; and next day fell upon the Instrument, as they had Voted, by parts as it lay, and questioned the powers which *Oliver* understanding, to put them out of that course which touched his Coppy-hold, after 9 dayes he came to the Painted Chamber, and sending for them, declared and asserted four Fundamentals in the Instrument, which they were not to meddle with or to alter, 1. *The Government by a single person and Parliament.* 2. *The Imperpetuity of Parliaments, or no continued succession of them.* 3. *The Militia, which was his only.* And 4. *Liberty of conscience; telling them a Free Parliament was but a*

term of Reciprocation, for that power which made him Protector, made them a Parliament, and therefore was very sorry they should go about to destroy the Settlement, which to prevent, and cease such Debates (though he denied any negative voice) he was necessitated to appoint a Test or Recognition of the Government as it was established (by every Member) before they sat again.

This bogled at first three quarters of them, especially the Commonwealth-men, and those of the late Long Parliament, so that of four hundred and odd there appeared but two hundred, but were made up at last three hundred; for the old ones would not be baulked so, and fell afresh upon the same disputes and ran out the Articles, resolving to put the whole judgment of the House upon them, into one entire Bill, and so present it, but in truth to spin out time, and work upon the Protector's occasions for money, which was proposed in the House, and coldly and slowly considered.

Just at their sitting down, the Protector published several Ordinances, which being passed and bore date before, were to pass as authentique as Acts by the Instrument; one for paying the money into the Treasury, that was raised for the propagation of the Gospel in *Wales*, another for making Souldiers free of all Corporations, and to exercise any Trades; Another to turn out all honest men under the notion of scandalous Preachers and Ministers, Common-Prayer being their chiefest Imputation; and a fourth to survey Kings Lands, &c. and for doubling upon Deans and Chapters, which sales those many changes of power had much retarded and depreiated. The more occult cause of the publication of these Ordinances, was to let the Parliament under-

stand, that *Oliver* took his *Instrument* to be in a good case, and sufficiently warranted already.

In this Convention *Lambert* laboured Tooth and Nail to have the *Instrument* confirmed, for by that the Protectorate was left undermined and Elective, threatening them that if this Parliament would not, they would call four or five Parliaments one after another till it was Enacted: (the same Art of menacing which *Oliver* used to the proceeding Juncto) but that not prevailing (the Parliament dissolved) by his Interest in the Army, He procured Addresses both from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as well as here, declaring their Resolution to stand by this Government in defence of the Protector's Life and Dignity against all Opposition; which in this Stratocracy was to be as good a Security as Parliamentary Assent. There were some Superiour Officers, as Lieut. Col. Majors, and Captains, who were yet for a Commonwealth, who had private Meetings, and contrived the seizing this Rebel, and deliver him to the Justice of the Parliament: but by *Pride's* Discovery, who was made privy to this business, they were prevented, and their Commissions only taken away; *Cromwel* not willing by severer punishments to make a noise that there was such a potent Faction in the Army.

Lambert was very officious in this matter, as neither *resenting* the late affront put upon him by *Cromwel* (when he advanced *Fleetwood* in his place to the Supreme Command in *Ireland*, though with lesser Title than he arrogated, who made magnificent preparation for this Investiture in the Lieutenantship, and would suffer no Diminution of that Honor) nor *senting* his future designs and cheats, as to his promised

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During those Protectoral Intregues, the King's Interest had got such footing again in *England*, that all, or most of the Gentlemen and Counties thereof, were engaged for it, and therefore while *Lambert* managed one Province, (the Affairs of the Parliament) wherein *Oliver* would not descend so low, as to be pragmatikal, and scepticallly busie with their Debates against His power, as wrested and usurped from the people; He was mainly intent upon the proceedings of the Royallists, the particulars whereof he had betrayed to him weekly, a constant correspondence being held betwixt him and one *Manning* a Retainer, and Under-Secretary to the King at *Colen*, his Father being killed in his Service at *Alresford* in the year 1644.

The price of this Treason was no less than 6000*l.* a year, most whereof came to the King by this fellows Hands, as sent over by his and his Friends procurement, but on purpose by so notable a service in the Kings necessities, to scruce himself into the secrets of His Majesties designs.

Hence came the western Association and Attempt of the Noble *Penruddock* in the West, to be so suddenly defeated, with the like Insurrections in several parts of *England* in the year 1654. For upon certain notice of the daies appointed for their Rising, *Cromwell* to be before hand with them gave out supposed and false daies, and made the like Appearances, particularly at *Shrewsbury*; by which means the confederates came to conceive there was some Treachery among themselves, and did then wisely desist from the danger of taking publique Arms against him; For a fuller accompt of all which, I must refer

fer the Reader to the Histories of the Times lately published, though I should take notice of his Cruelty against those unfortunate Gentlemen.

The Event of this, by which he had over-reached the King in his own Designs, and the Hopes of his rich successes in the *West-Indies* (by robbing another Prince) whither his Fleet and Army under General *Pen* and *Venables* was now arrived, which also I shall only mention, for the Story is trite and vulgar) made *Oliver* most blith and confident, and his Court of Beggars, and such like mean people, very gay and jocund: A great deal of State was now used towards him, and the *French* Cringe, and other ceremonious pieces of gallantry and good deportment; which were thought unchristian and favouring of Carnality, introduced in place of austere and down looks, and the silent Mummery of starched and Hypocritical gravity, the only becoming Dress (forsooth) of Piety and Religion. He had now a Guard of Halberdiers in gray Coats, welted with black Velvet, over whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; and a Lord Chamberlain *Sir Gilbert Pickering*; Two Masters of requests, *Mr. Bacon* and *Mr. Sadler*; a Master of his Horse, his Son *Claypoole*; and generally all Officers of Honour both to his own person, and his Wives; who very frugally H^{is} wifed it, and would nicely and finically tax the expensive unchristiness (as said she) of the *Other Woman* who lived there before her. But I must not engage here in her impertinencies, though a many pretty stories shall happily be told of this obsolete Princess.

It will be requisite to speak something of this manner and course of Life, now raised to a very near fruition of the Sovereignty, this being the Solstice
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of his Fortunes. His Custome was now to divert himself frequently at *Hampton-Court*, (which he had saved from Sale, with other Houses of the Kings for his own Greatness) whither he went and came in post with his Guards behind and before, as not yet secure of his Life from the justice of some avenging hand; Here he used to hunt, and at the fall of a Deer, where he would be sure to be present, embroe his hands in the blood of it, and therewith asperse and sprinkle the Attendants: and sometimes to cokes the neighbouring Rusticks, give them a Buck he had hunted, and money to drink with it; His own Diet was very spare and not so curious, except in publick Treatments, which were constantly given every Monday in the Week, to all the Officers of the Army not below a Captain, where he dined with them, and shewed a hundred Antick Tricks, as throwing of Cushions, and putting live Coals into their Pockets and Boots: a Table being likewise spread every day of the week for such Officers as should casually come to Court: and this was his greatest Expende, which and other charges of the Government, he levied as yet by his and his Councils Ordinances, as duly and respectfully obeyed as Acts of Parliament.

With these Officers while he seemed to disport himself, taking of his Drink freely; and opening himself every way to the most free familiarity, He did meerly lye at the Catch of what should incogitantly and with such unsuspected provocation fall from their Mouths; which he would be sure to record and lay up against his occasion of reducing them to the Speakers memory, who were never like to forget the prejudice and damage they had incurred

red by such loose Discoveries of their Minds and Inclinations.

He was a great Lover of Musick, and entertain- ed the most skilful in that Science in his pay and Family; in that like wicked *Saul*, who when the evil Spirit was upon him, thought to lay and still him with those Harmonious charms: but generally he respected or at least pretended a Love to all ingenious and eximious persons in any Arts, whom he procured to be sent or brought to him: but the niggardliness and incompetence of his reward, shew- ed that this man was a personated Aet of Greatness, and that private *Cromwel* yet governed Prince *Oli- ver*. Amongst the rest of those *Virtuosi*, He favoured a Poet too, who very elegantly sang his *Marston- Moor Emulous*, but with more misfortune than others, who made the Muses slaves to his Triumphs, and *Pegasus* to draw his Chariot.

He had twenty other freaks in his head, for some- times before he had half dined, he would give or- der for a Drum to beat, and call in his Foot Guards, like a Kennel of Hounds, to snatch off the meat from his Table, and tear it in pieces: the like *Jaco's* and *Frisks* he would have with other Company; even with some few of the Nobility, when he would not stick to tell them what Company they had late- ly kept; when and were they had drunk the Kings health and the Royal Families, bidding them when they did it again, to do it more privately, and this without any passion, and as festive Drol discourse.

But upon the news of the Defeat at *Hispaniola*, whence he had promised himself Mountains of Gold, and Rocks of Gems, to the maintenance of his Mamulakes, and perpetuating the Army, and the

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the Royalists breeding new Designs, he began to cast off the Merry Devil and act the Tyrant altogether, and notwithstanding Cause. For

The effects of this Parliament rupture encouraged two most opposite parties to conspire against this Protector, the Monarchists and Cavaliers (as we must so distinguish the Royal party upon this difference,) who longed for their rightful Sovereign *Charles* the second, the Fifth Monarchy expected King *Jesum*, the Courtiers and those engaged by them or with them, with *Cromwel* himself, desired King *Oliver*; and every one of these manifested much Impatience, but none of them could attain their Wishes, and when *Oliver* might afterwards, he durst not. The Protector was no way ignorant of this; and therefore he resolved to deal with the weakest first, which yet by underminings was more dangerous than the other: The Army was corrupted by that Millenary Principle, and that was to be purged; so that as *Harrison* and *Rich* had bin laid aside, and not long after committed with *Carew* and *Courtney* into several remote Castles; so now Gen. *Monck* had order to seize Major General *Overton*, and the Majors *Bramston* and *Holms*, and other Officers, and cashier them, after Fines and good security for their Behaviour; *Overton* was sent up to the Tower, and his Regiment conferred on Col. *Morgan*; Colonel *Okey's* Regiment taken from him, and given to a sure Confider; and so the danger from the Army was quickly suppress: Cornet but now Col. *Joyce*, was likewise made content at this Change, and signified so much to *Cromwel's* Face, whom he upbraided with his own Service and Faithfulness, but escaped any other Censure than a bidding him begone; *Cromwel*

knowing him to be one of those mad men that would say or do anything they were bid.

Now happ'ned an occasion, or rather *Cromwel* made it one, for him to shew his zeal to the Protestant Cause, and Publish himself to the World the Champion or Hector thereof; this was also one secret step and reach to the Crown, by invading the sacred Title of the Defender of the Faith, due only to the Hereditary Sovereigns of England; Herein also he aimed as in the Proverb, *to hit two Birds with one Stone*, not doubting but to find another Mine in the charitable minds and compassion of this Nation towards the parallel sufferings of the old *Waldenses* in *Piedmont* to the Irish Massacres, which were set out and dressed here with greater Skill of Butchery, than the Actors could handsomly do it there, and it was said the Copy was drawn from that Original.

Alderman Vyner and *Pack* were made Treasurers for this money, which amounted to a very large sum and reached the full design of the Protector; a small parcel whereof was now remitted to *Geneva*, the French King having newly before accommodated the business, the Duke refusing to admit *Cromwel's* Mediation.

There was another Artifice of the Protectors to set this business forward, and to countenance it: which was, Addresses from the Army here and abroad, offering their Service in this common cause of the Protestant Religion, no way doubting but that God in his due time would confound those Enemies of his People, as he had shewn his salvation by themselves, in the same Controversie to that day.

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A new Plot was now started, and most of the Nobility and Gentlemen of *England* secured; Sir *Geoffrey Palmer*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lord *Lovelace*, Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord *Newport*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Lords *Maynard*, *Petre*, *Lucas*, and *Faulkland*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, &c. and this done by *Manning*, whose Villany was not yet discovered, though to render a due Account of him, his Treachery was before related. County Troops were also now established for security of his Highness, such Trooper $\text{£}1$. a year pay and more in case of Service, a Captain a 100 £ . and Officers proportionably; and as these new Forces were raised here, so were other old ones disbanded in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; in which last place the disbanded were yet to be the same kind of *Militia*, they being settled in the Rebel forfeited Lands, their Tenure being their Service, and thus that Kingdome was re-peopled. An Agent that had come hither from *Ragotz*, Prince of *Transylvania*, now departed, the Conspiracy betwixt whom and the King of *Sweden*, and the *Swedes* and *Cromwel* was just ripe for execution.

The *Spanish* War therefore commencing, the Protector began new Practices against the Cavalier party, whose interest and spirit was against his Government as high as ever: he foresaw that by the *French* peace, the King only shifted and changed war from one quarter to another, and was yet as near as before, and in a more opportune and advantageous posture; for that the King of *Spain* and he would certainly concur against him, and so the Low Countries, his Provinces and Ports, be open and at the Service of our Sovereign; therefore his party was by all waies, how unjust and tyrannical soever to be

crush'd and suppress'd: it began with the Clergy who were neither to keep School, nor cure, nor be Chaplains, except they gave signal Testimony of their Apostacy from the Church; it next extended to all sorts of men, by the revived Act of 1652. forbidding all Cavaliers or such as meant well to the peace of the Kingdome in their subscription to the personal Treaty in 1648. by a new Proclamation to that purpose, from giving Voyces of Electing, or to be Elected themselves upon their utmost peril: then came out a Declaration for Decimating such who were actually in Arms: and to shew the Reasons of such proceedings against them, *Cromwel* therein taking it for granted; that the whole Mals of them were engaged in the late design of *Penruddock*; and observing to march their Relations but within themselves, and so to propagate the quarrel from one Generation to another; that they supplied their King (as they call'd him) with money; that their Clergy were as refractory as ever; and that therefore since by them the peace so endangered could not be kept, nor the cause and well affected secured but by keeping up a standing Army by a constant pay, it was requisite the charge should be born by those who caused it.

For the better dispatch of this Affair, he had erected a new military Authority, like the *Turkish Bashaws*, distributed into several Provinces or Counties, with an unbounded power, *England* being now cantoned into this *Hendecarchy*. viz. *Kent* and *Surrey* under Col. *Kelsey*; *Sussex*, *Hants*shire, and *Berk*shire under Col. *Goff*; *Gloucestershire*, *Wilts*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, under Col. *Desborough*; *Oxfordshire*, *Buckingham*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*,

bridge, isle of Ely, Essex. Norfolk and Suffolk; under Lieutenant General Fleetwood; London, Major General Skippon; Lincolnshire, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick and Leicester under Whalley; Northamptonshire, Bedford, Rutland and Huntingdon under villanous Butler; worcestershire, Hereford, Shropshire, and North-wales under Coll. Berkeley, Cheshire, Lancashire and Stafford under Co. Worsleys, Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Northumberland and westmorland, under Lord Lambert; Westminster and Middlesex, under Col. Berksted: their Commission was to take a Roll and Account of all suspected persons of the Kings party, and such as were actually so to receive security of them, in which they were to be bound to act nothing against the Government, and to reveal all Plots that should come to their knowledge; they were to suppress all Horse-Races, Cock-matches, and other concourses of people, to secure the High ways, to take engagement from Cavaliers for their Servants and Children, and those that did not so, nor give security, to commit to prison, and to rate and receive the money rising from this Decimation. In short there was nothing which they might not do, nor which they did not; such an Arbitrary vast power they had from the Protector. To this purpose a M. G. Office was erected in Fleetstreet, as other Courts had, where these Recognizances were entred, and all other the like Affairs, dependencies, and concerns thereof entred and recorded; by this means the Tyrant intended to inform himself of the value and quality of every estate and person, together with the number of that party in every County throughout the Kingdome. Most of those Loyal persons formerly secured were hereup-

on set at liberty, but by another 20 Mile Proclamation driven into the Country, into the bounds of the several Major Generals, who presently took cognizance of them, and summoned them to their respective Residences: they sat sometimes without, other times with some of the old Committees, where they received accounts of Estates, which were raised to the tenth penny yearly. Some bought off that Tax and incumbrance by a present Sum; at three years purchase, which was very acceptable; for money was the thing the Usurper wanted: others looked for a nearer Redemption, and to be constrained to that payment; the well affected and godly people voiced this to be a just and reasonable imposition; for when should they be at quiet, and enjoy themselves in the goods they had got, free from the interrupting endeavour of this old and restless Enemy? so that there wanted not Abettors and Assistants to this most religious work of the Major Generals; who had ordered in the first place, that no Cavalier should keep or wear either arms offensive or defensive; but straightways deliver them, so that they lay at the mercy of whomsoever they met, and at the Discretion and charity of whomsoever resorted to their Houses, for what they had left.

The Barbarous Cruelty and Severity of these *Bashawes*, to the Orthodox Clergy, while with the *Hor-nesses* of the persecution it suffocated the true Religion, did warm and foster the viperous brood of Sects and Heresies into monstrous luxuriances; For besides the Ranter, who at this time began to infect the Church, and multiply exceedingly, and the *Socinian*, who denied the Divinity of *Christ*; one *Pitt* being infamous for those impious opinions;

at *Exbury* formerly a Minister for *Ranting*; the *Quakers* appeared like *Locusts*, and overspread the whole Kingdom, even to the Disquiet of *Oliver* himself, who could not endure to hear of their Anti-Magisterial principles, the Schisme consisting chiefly of such as had been of the Army or rebel Faction. The Heighth of that Phrenzy and Delusion so possessed the haughty mind of one *James Nayler* (as if Pride and Ambition were the reigning secular sins) that he fancied himself to be our Saviour, procuring such Worship to be done him, as was due only to that blessed Divinity. This blasphemous Impostor was severely punished by the consent of *Oliver* (who perceived *Lambert*, whose Souldier this was formerly, to stickle for him on design to cajole his party;) But not from any sense of this Impiety, and zeal to Christ or his Worship; for he had lately struck a Bargain with the *Jews* that deny him, but the Ministers who were to dispute with *Ben Israel* their Agent contrary to command dissenting from his covetous project, He only gulled them of their earnest money.

By this mixture of subtlety with Cruelty and Rapine of all sorts, he had so establish'd himself, and his formidable greatness (engaging in a foreign war with the *French* against the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*; whither he sent Commissary General *Reynolds* with 6000 men, who joynly took in *St. Venant* and *Mardik* in the close of the Summer 1657. the latter being put into *English* hands) that the Royal party began truly to dread his mischievous power; the effects whereof were felt also in very remote parts of the World, in the *Polish* and *Danish* War, by his partaking with and assisting the King of *Sweden* (when he pretended a Mediation between them,

having dispatch'd Mr. *Rolt* of his Bedchamber, and Col. *Jephson* to *Carolus Gustavus*, and Mr. now Sir *Philip Meadows*, to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*;) to the diverting the *German* Emperour to the care of his own Dominions, and by that means depriving the *Spaniard* of his aid, and consequently frustrating all his Majesties designs of recovering, his rights to these Kingdoms.

I must omit his Successes by *Blake* at *Porta Ferina*, and *Sancta Cruz*, for which the *English* valour was famous; as also Sir *Richard Stainers* taking and spoiling 7. Gallies from the *West-Indies*, laden with plate, which were substantial Trophies, and made his power terribly renowned.

And therefore now he thought it time to shew his Son *Richard* to the World, whom to avoid the Suspicion of designing the Sovereignty to be Hereditary in his Family, and to amuse *Lambert* who would not brook other Successor than himself. His Rival if not Superiour now in the affection of the Army, he had kept in the Country, in *Hampshire* (where he had married the Daughter of one *Major* of *Southampton*, with a very plentiful fortune, the support and maintenance of him now) among the Converse of the Gentry Royallists to insinuate into their affection and good liking by some kind of Offices and Civilities he procured; from Court, and by his own debonaire and affable Disposition: The first publique Honour done him was the Chancellorship of *Oxford*, in which he was solemnly invested after his Father had purposely resigned it at *Whitehall*, next he was sworn a Privy Councillor, and made a Colonel in the Army, to have an Interest in all Parties and parts of the Body Politique, and

and not long after in the next Parliament, after their recess, the first Lord of the other Houſe, and now ſtyled the moſt Noble Lord *Richard*, and riſe diſcourſes there were of *Richard* the Fourth, but they proved no more than the ſtory of Queen Dick.

His Son *Harry Cromwel*, lately married to Sir *William Ruffels* Daughter, he likewiſe ſent in the quality of Lord Lieutenant, to ſucceed his Son in Law *Fleetwood*, in *Ireland*: only *Scotland* could not be taken from General *Mönck*, and diſpoſed in the hands of his more confident Relations, *Fleetwood* or *Desborough* being deſigned for that Government. His Daughters likewiſe were all married, *Elizabeth* his Darling, before his late Greatneſſe, to a private Gentleman, one Mr. *Cleypole* of *Warwickſhire*; his Daughter *Mary* to the Lord Viſcount *Fauconberg*, of the noble Family of the *Belſaſis*, and his younger Daughter *Frances* to Mr. *Robert Rich*, eldeſt Son to *Robert* Lord *Rich*, and Grandſon to *Rob.* Earl of *Warwick*: all three of which *Rich*'s dyed within one year after this unfortunate and unglorious Match. So that he thought he had eſtabliſhed his houſe: but the Foundation being laid in ſand tempered with Blood, the next gult and boiſterous Wind blew it like Chaff and ſcattered and diſperſed it to nothing.

From this haughty confidence he was invited to call another Parliament, and to aſſume from thence the long awaited reſult of his Ambition, the Crown Imperial of *England*. All other things moreover did ſeem to conſpire to the ſame purpoſe, except the levelling Fifth Monarchy Party, and *Lambert*: for the Presbyterian and other Sectaries, who had their hands full of Sacrilegious and Treasonable Penny-worths of Eccleſiaſtical and Crown and De-
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linguents Lands, were most eagerly desirous of a settlement of the Government by Law, that might secure and confirm their purchases; the more indifferent Royalists preferred any Legal (no manner how or what) Authority, rather than be continually tasked and oppressed by the outrageous unlimited violence of the Major Generals, whom *Cromwel* had on purpose set up, as he did the Little or Foolish Parliament, to make another Title he gaped at, more acceptable to the People.

As to the Fifth Monarchy men, he had meerly pri- ed into that danger, and seized and took the chief of that Party, among whom was *Venner* the *Winn-Cooper*, being engaged somewhat after in a Plot, in a house in *Shoreditch*, where some Arms were taken, and an Ensign with a *Lyon couchant* of the Tribe of *Judah* painted in it, having this Motto, *who shall rouse him up?*

And hereupon *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Rich*, Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, *Courtney*, *Portman*, *Day*, and the like, were imprisoned in remote places, as Col. *Overton*, Major *Holms*, and other of the same party, had been seized as before in *Scotland*, and cashiered by General *Monck*, according to *Cromwel's* Order, and sent up Prisoners to the *Tower of London*.

As to the *Levellers*, he had lately discovered their practices and combinations against him, and had likewise clapt up the chief of them; one Major *Wildman* in order to his Tryal being taken at *Marleborough*, inditing and drawing Declarations against him; so that they were at a stand and a loss which way to proceed, to the unsettling and overthrow of his Tyrannical power procured by so many tricks and cheats put upon them by him; so that afterwards

wards when they began private Subscriptions to Petitions, and Addresses to the Parliament against the Kingship, he peremptorily upon their peril forbade them to intermeddle with their Consultations, and so awed and dashed them, that they never offered any more afterwards, to hold up so much as a Finger against him. *Lambert* was the only impediment, and we shall see him neatly and quietly removed and discarded like the rest of his former Confidants.

This *Olivarian* Parliament brought together by these means was not less awed in its Election by the Major Generals (they themselves and all their friends being returned for Members, while the Gentry and other Honest men being confined or under some qualification or other, could not, or dared not appear, particularly Col. *Berkstead*, and *Kiffin* the Anabaptist, by Voices of Red-coats, got themselves returned Knights of the Shire for the County of *Middlesex*, with Sir *William Roberts*, and Mr. *Chute* (as the Instrument directed;) then in the Admission to the House, where a Recognition of his Highness and the Government by a single person, with a guard of Soldiers was ready placed, and unless each Member swallowed the one, he might not pass the other, by which means almost 200, were at the first dash secluded, those within taking no notice of the force, but referring the excluded to the Examination of the Privy Council.

The first work this Parliament did was their declaring the Justice of the War against *Spain* (the *Cromwellian* party personating the Interest, and Honour of the Nation, that they might by that be looked upon for all this garbling, as a due representative, and to credit their ensuing By blows,) and a Resolution

lution to assist the Protector in it. And next as the grand and Liminary work to *Oliver's* Regality, *An Act for the renouncing the Title of his Majesty, and the whole Line of King James*; seconded with another for the Security of His Highness person, in which they alledged the Peace and safety of the Nation was bound up.

And that this might appear more necessary and opportune, a Plot was hatched by *Cromwel* and *Thurloe*, for further quashing all *Levelling* and *Fifth Monarchy* designs against that party; a Book had likewise been lately divulged, styled *Killing no Murder*, wherein it was proved, that it was most lawful, just, necessary and honourable to kill him, and this printed with the Name of one *Allen* a disbanded Leveller, but so politely and learnedly written, that it intimated a more exact and curious hand; whosoever it was, it scared *Cromwel* almost out of his Wits, and made him betake himself to perventionary Artifices, and fright Assassinsates with his Severity against the Suppositious Authors of pretended dangers.

This Scare-Crow was one *Miles Syndercombe* a disband of *Overton's* in *Scotland* by General *Monck* a Leveller and Fifth Monarchist, both which parties he conjoynd in this trap, as most feared by him, by the wily Arts of *Thurloe*, who set one *Cecil* and *Toop* of *Cromwel's* Life-Guard, to urge this Malecontent into a Conspiracy of the Protectors Death; This was readily assented to, and several Engines and Instruments fixed for that purpose and places appointed, and *Whitehal* Chappel to be fired; all which was from time to time discovered, and *Syndercombe* after the last vain experiment, seized & arraigned

raigned, and after a careless defence convicted and sentenced for Treason, which he avoided (as the *Coroners Jury* gave their Verdict) by poisoning himself in the *Tower* the night before his Execution, and was drawn at a Horse Tail to *Tower-hill*, and inhumed and a Stake driven through him under the Scaffold.

For this Delivery of his Highness the *Parliament* voted a Thanksgiving, and attended him at the *Banqueting-House* in *White-hall* with a gratulatory Oration, setting forth the Ruine that was intended in that Horrible Treason to the whole *Protestant Religion* throughout the *World*; with the like paradoxical designed falshoods; but to the almost spoiling the Complement, the Stairs in the ascending broke, and lamed *Richard Cromwell* and others, who for amends were invited to dinner there upon the Thanksgiving-day; and that Courtesie requited by a more gaudy Gift.

For the next day Alderman *Pack* (a great Excise Commissioner, and in greater Arrears for it to 30000*l.* and deep in the *Piedmont Account*) from the advantage of this *Royal Treat*, suddenly started a Motion like a Puppet jerked with a Wire, that in regard of the strange unsettlement and discomposure of the Nation, and the minds of men, and the ill Aspect it had upon forraign Princes, and all Trade; that therefore the Protector might be desired to assume the style of King, as the most known and most agreeable Government: and presently tooth and nail the Court party were at it; and after sundry consultations passed a Resolution in order to his being Kinged by the second part of the Instrument, called *The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament*: which being now in debate we must pursue with a further Account,

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The suitable political talk of the party of the US Turper, was now engaged in strained Arguments, for a Monarchy in the person of this their Ring-leader: and this Maxime was broach'd in the News-Book, That there was no everlasting principle in Government as to any particular form, that Government is but a temporary expedient, that it is like *ultima tabula post Naufragium*, in the hazard of the Common-wealth the next shift may be made use of. The same was the inspired reason into the Humble Petition and Advice, which after several debates and resolutions was drawn into that Consistency, the main whereof was to desire the Protector to change that Title for the other of King. On the 9. of April the Parliament, having desired a Meeting with him, came to the *Banqueting-House* in *Whitehall*, where Sir *Thomas Widdrington* in a Speech commended the Title and Office of a King, as settled here with Christianity, approved by our Ancestors, consistent with our Laws and Temper of the people, and then presented him with the Module of the Humble Petition, &c. To this tender, *Cromwell* in a fit of Devotion, answered, *That it was a weighty matter, and therefore desired space to seek God, that the charge laid upon him was too great for him to bear without his Assistance; that the English were the best people in the world, and required therefore all tenderness and consideration of their Liberties, &c.*

The next day a Committee was appointed to attend him, and receive his Answer, which being insignificant, they upon report thereof resolved to adhere to their Petition, and appointed a Committee of above half the House to attend him, to receive from him his doubts and scruples touching any of the

the particulars contained in the Petition, &c. and to offer reasons for his satisfaction, for the maintenance of the Resolution of the House, and wherein they cannot satisfy to report. The chief of this Committee were Mr. *Whitlock*, Lord Chief Justice *Glyn*, Lord *Brougham*, *Lenthall*, *Lisle*, *Philip Jones*, *Fiennes*, *Strickland*, *Thurloe*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *Charles Woolfey*.

We have through these *Labyrinths* of his shifted Designs, now *closed* him to his *lustful* and *adulterous* Usurpation, which the *nocturnal* pollutions of his *Dream* had so long before *fancied* and *aided* in his thoughts.

This was the critical Time, and the very Juncture of his accomplishment of all his projections upon the Crown, which now seemed to court his Brows by the complemental tender of a Parliament so pick'd and cull'd to his purpose. But it pleased God to rescue the Honour and Majesty of *England* from the profanation of his Temples, by some sudden emergent dangers, and suspicion he raised in his Breast, and to elude his Royal Phantasms with Rival and Democrætick apparitions: His Oracles now ceased, and a lying Spirit was in the mouth of his Prophets, who in their preachments harped upon this Subject. Now that the Reader may know how the whole mystery and cabal of this Business was managed by the above mentioned Committee (who would fain have drawn *Oliver* under the yoke of Laws, and retrencht his exorbitant power of the Sword) and *Cromwell* (who feared they would fortifie his Title, and weaken his Tenure, and had notice that *Bumbers* laboured in the Debauch of the Army) He is here presented with the sum of that abortive

Regal

Regal Consultation, which like the Philosophers Stone, or rather the Apples of Sodom, vanished and perished in the Attretation.

After many meetings and conferences together at *Whitehall*, the Commissioners being impowered to receive his Highnesses Scruples, at his request (the whole Affair being managed with Royal State and respect to him) they came to these Desputes. It was alledged by the Committee who were to offer and make play, that the Title of King had been confirmed by all parliaments, for 1300 years, and the person, not the name displeasing to any of them; That it was interwoven with the Laws, and the very consent of this Parliament in being.

To this the Protector answered that these were suatory, not convincing or compulsive Arguments; That the Title of the Protector might be made accommodable to the Laws, by the consent of the Parliament, as well as the Title of King was made so by the same; that the Title of King would be displeasing to many godly men, and Officers of the Army, who had declared against the Title and Office.

To these it was replied, *That the Title ought to be accommodated to the Laws, not the Laws to it. That Invention of Titles was suspected as the Veil or Concealment of some design against the Publique; and that therefore the Parliament of England had scrupled the new Title of King of Great Britain, to King James. That if he regarded not his own Honour and Greatness, yet he should respect the Honour and Reputation of the Kingdom. That the name of Protector had alwayes been unfortunate to the Kingdom during the Minority of our Princes, and also to themselves. That it being given him by the Souldiery it sounded of Conquest.*

Conquest. That when the Kingly Title was abolished in the Roman Empire, nothing but confusion followed, nor could the State find Rest, either under Consul, or Dictators, or Prince of the Senate, until the pleasure and will of Cæsar came to be acknowledged for Law.

Other instances there were of the Commissioners, who severally by order of the Committee delivered their Answers to him, as namely the Reason of the Change of the Stile of Lord to King of *Ireland* in *H. 8.* time, for the better and more regular Government of that Nation, and Examples of a neighbouring Protestant Kingdom of *Sweden*, who had crowned their Marshal that took up Arms with them against their Sovereign, but their main Argument was drawn from the States of *9. Edw. 5. & 3. H. 7.* by which all persons were indemnified that took up Arms for the King in being, which was one and the chief reason said *Whitlock*, why so many at first assisted the King against the Parliament, and would be his Highnesses ease and security. And lastly, to his Argument of displeasing many godly men, and that providence seemed to cross the Introduction of the Kingly Office by a seven years overthrow of it; He was answered that the Reduction of the Common-wealth to Monarchy, was a greater Act than from Monarchy to the Protectorate; That in all Governments some men would be unsatisfied, and that therefore his safest way would be to rely on this Settlement by the Parliament. But after all *Cromwells* fears surmounted his ambition, and he told them in a long *Harangue*, that he could not accept the Title of King it being against his Conscience.

The Protector having refused the Title of King (awaiting a more opportune time and advantage to reach

reach to that top and height of his Ambition, which inwardly tormented him) was now by the Parliament to be confirmed in his former dignity: and a Committee called of the Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory part to the Humble Petition and Advice, in respect of the Protector's Oath, his Councils, the Members of Parliament, the other House, which was to consist of 60 and odd Lords of Cromwel's Election, of whom it will be needless to give an Account: all which with some Acts being prepared and finished, the Protector came to the Painted Chamber, and sent for the Parliament, where the Speaker tendred him these Acts of State, besides others relating unto Trade, &c. *An Act for Assessement of 60000 l. a Month, for 3 Months, from March for the three Kingdoms. Another money Act for 50000 l. for England, 6000 l. for Scotland, and 9000 l. for Ireland. An Act for preventing multiplicity of Buildings in and about the Suburbs of London, and within 10 Miles thereof; and a whole years Revenue to be paid for every Dwelling, or House built upon any new Foundation since 1620. and (this was the reason and soul of that Law.) An Act for punishing such as live at high rates and have no visible Estates: And lastly, for the observation of the Lords Day.* There was a Bill for ascertaining and satisfying the Publick Faith, that these Parties might seem to intend the ease of the People; but it was but once read and committed, and resumed afterwards to as much purpose very briskly by the Council of this Protector. At the Signing of these Cromwel made this short Speech.

I perceive that among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament,

Parliament; to provide for the just and necessary support of the Common-wealth, by these Bills for levying of money, now brought to me, which I have given my Consent unto; and understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been chief Governours, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard to the Publick: I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.

The Principle substance of the Humble Petition, &c. was this.

1. That his Highness, under the Title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of England, &c. and to govern according unto all things in this Petition and Advice; also, that in his life time he would appoint the Person that should succeed in the Government after his death. 2. That he would call Parliaments consisting of 2 Houses once in 3 years at farthest. 3. That those persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of the People to serve Parliaments, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members. 4. In the fourth, was shewn the qualifications of Parliament-Members. 5. In the fifth, the power of the other House. 6. That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept, and no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated, repealed, or new Law made, but by Act of Parliament. 7. For a constant yearly Revenue, 1000000 l. to be settled for maintenance of the Navy and Army; and 300000 l. for support of the Government, besides other Temporary supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of the Nations to require. 8. That the number of the Protectors Council should not be above 21, whereof the Quorum to be 7, and not under. 9. The chief Officers of State, as Chan-

cellors, Keepers of the great Seal, &c. to be approved of by Parliament. 10. That his Highness would encourage a godly Ministry in these Nations; and that such as do revile or disturb them in the Worship of God, may be punished according to Law; and where the Laws are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf. 11. That the Protestant Christian Religion be professed & no other; and that a confession of Faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of these Nations; and none be permitted by words or writings to revile or reproach the said Confession of Faith, &c.

Which he having Signed, declared his acceptance in these words.

That he came thither that day, not as to a Triumph but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of the greatest burthens, that ever was laid upon the back of any humane Creature; so that without the support of the Almighty, he must sink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of these Nations. This being so, he must ask help of the Parliament, and of those that fear God, that by their Prayers he might receive assistance from God: for nothing else could enable him to the discharge of so great a duty and trust.

That seeing this is but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of these Nations, and there being many things which cannot be supplied, without the assistance of the Parliament, it was his duty to ask their help in them; not that he doubted, for the same Spirit, that had led the Parliament to this, would easily suggest the same to them. For his part nothing would have induced him to take this unsupportable burthen to flesh and blood, but that he had seen in the Parliament a great care of those things, which might really

answer

answer the ends that were engaged for, and make clearly for the Liberty of the Nations, and for the interest and preservation of all such as fear God under various forms. And if these Nations be not thankful to them for their Care therein, it will fall as a sin upon their heads.

Yet there are some things wanting that tend to Reformation, to the discountenancing vice, and encouragement of vertue; but he spake not this as in the least doubting their Progress, but as one that doth heartily desire, to the end God may Crown their work, that in their own time, and with what speed they judge fit, these things may be provided for.

There remained only the Solemnity of the Inauguration or Investiture, which being agreed upon by the Committee and the Protector, was by the Parliament appointed to be performed in *Westminster-Hall*; here at the upper end whereof, there was an Ascent raised, where a Chair and Canopy of State was set, and a Table with another Chair for the Speaker, with Seats built Scaffold-wise for the Parliament on both sides; and places below for the Aldermen of *London*, and the like. All which being in a readiness, the Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lords House, and in this order proceeded into the Hall. First went his Gentlemen, then a Herald; next the Aldermen, another Herald, the Attorney General; then the Judges (of whom Serjeant *Hill* was one, being made a Baron of the Exchequer, *June 16.*) then *Norroy*, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and the Seal carried by Commissioner *Piennes*, then *Garret*, and after him the Earl of *Warwick* with the Sword borne before the Protector, bare-headed, the Lord Mayor *Tichborn* carrying

carrying the City Sword (being the special Cokes of the Protector) by his left hand : Being seated in his Chair, on the left hand whereof stood the said *Tichborn* and the *Dutch* Ambassador, the *French* Ambassador and the Earl of *Warwick* on the Right; next behind him stood his Sons *Richard*, *Fleetwood*, *Cleyple*, and the Privy Counsel; upon a lower descent stood the Lord Viscount *Liste*, Lords *Montague* and *Whitlock* with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker (*Sir Thomas Widdrington*) in the name of the Parliament, presented to him a Robe of Purple-Velvet, a Bible, a Sword, and a Scepter, at the Delivery of these things, the Speaker made a short Comment upon them to the Protector, which he divided into four parts as followeth.

1. The Robe of Purple; *This is an Emblem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice: when you have put on this Vestment, I may say you are a Gown-man. This Robe is of a mixt colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy. Indeed a Magistrate must have two hands, Pleæntem, & amplectentem, to cherish, and to punish.*

2. The Bible, *it is a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well vers'd. This Book of Life consists of two Testaments the Old and New: the first shews Christum Velatum, the second Christum Revelatum: Christ veiled and revealed: it is a Book of Books, and doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good Government.*

3. Here is a Scepter, *not unlike a Staff; for you are to be a Staff to the weak and poor; it is of ancient use in this kind. It's said in Scripture, that the Scepter shall not depart from Judah: It was of the like use in other Kingdomes; Homer the Greek Poet calls Kings and Princes Scepter-Bearers.*

4. The

* 4. The last thing is a Sword, *not a Military but Civil Sword*; it is a Sword rather of defence than offence: not to defend your self only, but your People also. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the valiant Lord Talbot had upon his, it should be this, *Ego sum Domini Protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum, I am the Lord Protector's to protect my people.*

This Speech being ended, the Speaker took the Bible and gave the Protector his Oath: afterwards Mr. *Manton* made a prayer, wherein he recommended the Protector, Parliament, Council, the Forces by Land and Sea, Government and People of the three Nations to the protection of God. Which being ended, the Heralds by Trumpets proclaimed his Highness Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. At the end of all, the Protector with his Train carried by the Lord *Sherrard*, *Warwick's* Nephew, and the Lord *Roberts* his eldest Son, returned in the same posture, the Earl of *Warwick* sitting at one end of the Coach against him, *Richard* his Son, and *Whitlock* in one, and the Lord *Lille* and *Mountague* in the other Boor, with Swords drawn, and the Lord *Cleypole* Master of the Horse, led the Horse of Honour in rich Caparisons to *Whitehall*. The Members to the Parliament House, where they adjourned their sitting to the 20 day of *January*.

He was now settled and established in his first assumed Dignity, to the satisfaction of some part of the Army; only *Lambert* was gravelled with that clause in which it gave the Protector power to name his Successor. Whereby he saw himself deprived and

frustrated of his Hopes, and that Contract that had passed between them. *Cromwel* therefore to secure himself, set the Army Regiment after Regiment to subscribe Addresses congratulating his legal Authority, and declaring their readines to assert Him therein with their Lives and Fortunes; being the very same Method *Lambert* used before to prevent any Designs against him in the Army, when he was left upon his own bottom by the Parliament before.

In the mean time a more potent Enterprize was formed by the Kings Interest, and the appearance of the Marquis of *Ormond* (as my Lord *Wilmot* from beyond Sea, was engaged before in *Penruddock's* rising in the West) about *Sussex*, whither some *English* forces for *Flanders* in the Kings pay and service were to have been transmitted; but by traiterous discovery of two former eminent Royalists, whom *Cromwel* by great Pensions had corrupted, one a Knight, the other a Minister, and one that had a hand in the killing of *Rainsborough*, the whole Intrigue was discovered, the Marquis narrowly escaping back again to the King, who was dispatching General *Marsin* with his Forces then in readines.

He was no sooner rid of the danger of this, but he was puzzled with *Lambert's* Cabal, who had inveigled and almost debauch'd *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, *Cromwel's* nearest Relations with his but emulous pretended Democratick principles; so that *Cromwel* (having dissolved the Parliament at their access in *January*, when according to the new Instrument they met in a full House, and began, and were resolved to undo all again that had passed during their Seclusion, nor would own the other House of upstart Mechanick Lords, but flew so high as the bringing *Oliver* into

into question for those confusions of the State) was now in as ticklish a condition as ever : therefore *Lambert* was gently laid aside, and his Commission taken from him, and his Regiments disposed to better hands, and Spies and Eves-droppers dispersed through the Army to give him Intelligence of their Affections and Inclinations.

This made him most suspiciously fearful, so that he began to dread every person or strange face he saw (which he would anxiously and intently view) for an Assassinate, that Book of *Killing no Murther* perpetually running in his mind ; It was his constant Custom to shift and change his Lodging, to which he passed through twenty several Locks, and out of which he had four or five ways to avoid pursuit : when he went between *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court*, by private and back ways, but never the same way backward and forward, he was always in a Hurry, his Guards behind and before riding a full Gallop, and the Coach always filled, especially the Boot with Armed persons, he himself being furnished with private weapons ; and was now of more than difficult access to all persons.

A Plot was again on foot, and like a Mongrel design that had no issue, was made up one half by the Cavalier, & the other half by himself (who was sure not to be behind hand in such designs) for which Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Dr. *Hewyt*, and three other private persons lost their lives by a High Court of Justice, the severity whereof so afflicted or affected the mind of his Daughter *Cleypole*, that falling sick with the pains and torments of an Ulcer, in her *Intestines*, and the stopping of her terms, which made her frantick, she never ceased roaring against that bloody man her Father.

He was now again adorned with another Success and Triumph, by the Defeat of the *Spanish Army* and surrender of *Dunkirk* into his hands, *Lockhart*, his Kinsman and General of the *English Forces*, being made Governour thereof: which I am constrained to pass without any further remark, and from the height of this glory, level him with the dust of other Mortals.

The Kingdom was now almost stupified and tired, out with struggling against his Government and Domination, when it pleased God to call him to account of all that Mischief he had perpetrated; ushering his End with a great Whale some three months before, on the 2 of *June*, that came up as far as *Greenwich*, and was there killed, and more immediately by a terrible Storm of wind, that prognosticks that the great *Leviathan* of men, that Tempest and overthrow of Government, was now going to his own place.

He was taken sick at *Hampton-Court*, having not been well in mind some time before (troubled with the last frantick words of his beloved Daughter *Cleopole*, who threatened Judgment like another mad *Cassandria*, and with the insinuations and encroachments of the Republican party into the Army; nor were most of his Relations taint-free of those principles, were but winding towards them:) the disease was a bastard Tertian which appeared not at first of any danger, but after a weeks time it began to shew very desperate Symptoms; wherefore he was removed to *Whitehall*, where his Chaplains and others of that pious Family, kept private meetings and Fasts for his recovery; of which they were so vainly confident that they obtruded their unreasonable thanks to God for the certainty of it, and with the

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same unseasonable flattery and pick-thank with the Protector, deluded him into the like persuasion, so that he told his Physicians, *He should not die this bout*; but the Fits proving worse and worse, and causing him to talk idly, and to faint often; They in Council concluded, he could scarce survive another Paroxysm; at which the Privy Council being astonished, they immediately repaired to him about his settling a Successor, whom by the Petition he was to declare in his life-time; but he was then scarce then himself, which they perceiving, interrogated him, if he appointed not his Son *Richard*? whereunto he answer'd in the Affirmative. It was supposed that he had designed *Fleetwood* in his ultimate thoughts, but the distraction of the choice betwixt his Son and Son in Law, had made him leave it undetermined (a private Will he made at his first sickning at *Hampton-Court*.) Continuing in this condition, he died on *Friday* the said 3 of *September*, at 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon, though divers rumors were spread, that he was carried away in the Tempest the day before? his body being opened and Embalmed, his Milt was found full of corruption and filth, which was so strong and stinking, that after the Corps were Embalmed and filled with Aromatick Odours, and wrapt in Cerecloth, six double, in an inner sheat of Lead, and a strong Wooden Coffin, yet the filth broke through them all, and raised such a noisome stink, that they were forced to bury him out of hand; but his name and memory stinks worse.

The Corps (presently after his expiration) being buried for the aforesaid reason, a Coffin was on the 26 of *September*, about 10 at night privately removed from *Whitehall* in a Mourning Horse, attended

ded by his Domeſtick Servants, none of whom ſhed one Tear, to *Somerſet-Houſe*, where it remained in private for ſome days, till all things were in readineſs for publick view; which being accompliſhed, his Effigies was with great ſtate and magnificence expoſed openly; multitudes daily flocking to ſee the ſight which appeared in this order.

The firſt room where the Spectators entred, was wholly hung with Black: at the upper end whereof, was placed a Cloth and Chair of State: In like manner was the ſecond and third, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans placed in each room for people to paſs through. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black Velvet the Cieling being of the ſame; here lay the Effigies with a large Canopy of black Velvet fringed, which hung over it. The Waxen Picture lying upon its back apparell'd in a rich ſuit of Velvet, robed in a little Robe of Purple Velvet, laced with a rich Gold Lace, fur'd with Ermines; upon the Kirtle was a large Robe of Purple Velvet, laced and fur'd as the former, with rich ſtrings and taſſels of Gold. The Kirtle was girt with a rich embroidered Belt, wherein was a Sword bravely gilt and hatched with Gold, which hung by the ſide of this *fine thing*. In the right hand was a Scepter, in the left a Glob; upon his head was placed a Purple-Velvet Cap furred with Ermines, ſutable to the Robes; behind the head was placed a rich Chair of Tiſſued Gold, whereon was placed an Imperial Crown which lay high that the people might behold it. The Bed of State whereon he lay, was covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, under vvich was a Holland Sheet, born up by fix ſtools covered vvith Cloth of Gold. About the Bed was placed a compleat

compleat Sute of Arms, and at the feet of the Effigies stood his Crest. This Bed had fixt about it an Ascent of two steps, a little from thence stood 8. silver Candlesticks, about 5. foot high, with white wax Tapers standing in them, of three foot long. All these things were environed with Rails and Ballasters foursquare covered with Velvet; at each corner thereof was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops Lions and Dragons, who held in their paws Streamers crowned. On both sides of the Bed were set up in Sockets, four great Standards of the Protectors Arms, with Banners and Banrols of War, painted upon Tafaty, about the Bed stood men in mourning bearheaded; and without the Rails others to receive people in, and turn them out again.

When this shew had been seen for many weeks together, the Scene was then altered; the Effigies being removed into another room, it was there set up, standing upon an Ascent under a Cloath of State; being vested as it was before, lying: only now his purple-Velvet-Cap was changed for a Crown. In the same manner (as formerly) were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this manner he continued until the 23. of Nov. which day was appointed to carry him in Solemnity to *Westminster-Hall*.

This great Funeral was performed with very great state, in this manner following. All things being in readines, the waxen Picture of the Protector (with a Crown on his head, a Sword by his side, a Globe and Scepter in his hands) was taken down from his standing, and laid in an open Chariot, covered all over with black Velvet, and adorned with most gaudy and flanting Plumes and Scutcheons, and drawn by 6. horses in black Velvet. The Streets from *Somerfet-House*

to *Westminster-Abby*, were guarded by Soldiers in new Red-coats and Black Buttons, with their Ensigns wrapt in Cypress; which made a Lane to keep off Spectators from crowding the Actors.

The Procession.

In the first place went a Marshal attended by his Deputy, and 13 more on Horse-back, to clear the way; after him followed the poor men of *Westminster* by two and two in Mourning Gowns and Hoods, next to them, the servants of those persons of Quality that attended the Funeral. These were followed by the Protectors late domestick Servants, with his Barge-men and Watermen. Then came the Servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London. Following them, were Gentlemen Attendants on Foreign Ambassadors and Publick Ministers. After marched the poor Knights of Windsor in Gowns and Hoods: then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treasury, Navy, and Exchequer: next, the Commissioners of the Excise, of the Army, and Committee of the Navy. Then the Commissioners for approbation of Preachers: behind these followed all the Officers, Messengers and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament. Next in order followed his Physicians, The head Officers of the Army, the Officers and Aldermen of London, the Masters of Chancery, and Oliver's Council at Law, the Judges of Admiralty, Judges of both Benches, and Lord Mayor of London, The Persons allied to the Protector, and the Members of the other House, the publick Ministers of Foreign Princes, The Holland Ambassador alone, having his Train held up by 4 Gentlemen. Then the Portugal Ambassador, in like manner, The Commissioners of the great Seal. The Commissioners of the Treasury. The Members of the Privy Council. All the Grandees in close Mourne

Mourning (but it was once advised otherwaies for fear of a surprise in the streets) the rest but in ordinary.

The whole Assembly, passing along in divisions, were distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, Banners, and Horses, whereof there were eleven in all, four being covered with black Cloth, and seven in Velvet. These passing in fine order, at length came the chariot with he Effigies, on each side of which were six Banner-Rolls, (twelve in all) borne by several persons; and likewise several pieces of the Protectors Arms, carried by eight Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went Garter principal King of Arms, attended by a Gentleman on each hand bareheaded. Next came the Chief Mourner. And to conclude all, came the Horse of Honour, in very rich Trappings imbroidered on crimson Velvet, and adorned with white, red and yellow plumes of Feathers, being led by the Master of the Horse. The Rear of this brave shew was brought up by the Protectors guard of Halberdiers, the Warders of the Tower, and a Troop of Horse:

The Effigies in this manner being brought to the West-Gate of the Abby-Church of Westminster, it was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, who carried it to the East-end of the Church, and there placed the Picture in a most magnificent Structure, built in the same form as one before had been (on the like occasion) for K. James, but much more stately,

And here he lodged and usurped a grave, the impatient Spectators fretting at this pompous Mummery and Magnificent Cheat, taking his Funeral Triumphs for a more solemn Cozenage of the Executioner, till the due inevitable Justice of Heaven found him out, after the reduction of His Sacred Majesty in peace to His Kingdoms, which would very difficulty have been accomplished, if this resolute destroyer had survived to that blessed time.

On

On the 30. day of *January*, 1650, that day 12 years of his most nefarious parricide, his Carcass with *Bradshaws* and *Iretons*, having been digged out of their Graves, were carried to the *Red-Lyon* in *Holborn*, and from thence drawn in Sledges to *Tyburn*, where they hanged from Ten of the Clock in the Morning till Sun-set, with their Faces towards *White-hall*, and were then inhumed under the *Gallows*, and his Head set upon *Westminster-Hall* to be the becoming Spectacle of his Treason, where on that *Pinnacle* and *Legal Advancement* it is fit to leave this Ambitious Wretch.

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